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THE MEDIA EDUCATION JOURNAL

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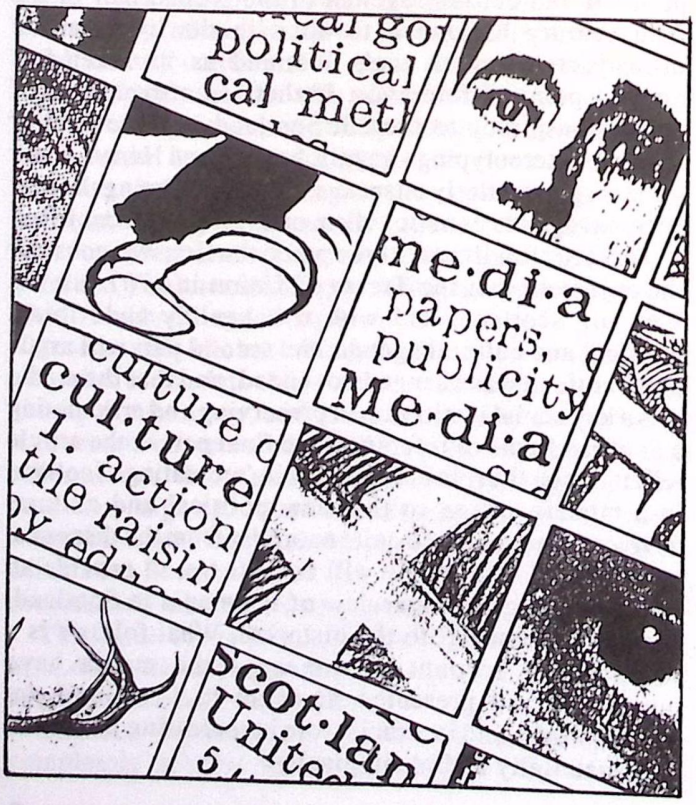
Scotland and the Union

The conventional wisdom, among Nationalists and Unionists alike, is that 1707 saw Scotland disappear. To Nationalists, the Union was a betrayal of a proud nation, 'bought and sold for English gold', by a 'parcel of rogues'. Thereafter, the task has been to rescue Scotland from its predicament by refashioning a new society, to encourage Scotland to 'rise and be a nation again' in the words of the song and the Sun newspaper. The assumption is, of course, that in 1707 Scotland ceased to be one, and that what followed was the emergence of a deformed rump of a culture and society which, prevented from expressing its national identity, took to deformed and sub-national means of expressing its culture. While 'high culture' was increasingly being expressed in 'British' terms, so 'low culture' was diverted into deformed outlets. Hence, while political and cultural power gravitated to the English capital, so high culture such as the Scottish Enlightenment in the late 18th century was resolutely British not Scottish. On the other hand, this version of Scottish history goes, popular culture became inexorably associated with trivia and parochialism, in the culture of the Kailyard and Tartanry. In this way, 'Scottish' culture (as opposed to British) became the preserve of the mawkish, the outrageous and sentimental. Its media representations were judged to be both the outcome, the expression of this deformed state, as well as its progenitor.

What was Kailyard? Literally, it meant 'cabbage-patch', a literature of parochialism and rural quaintness, lasting from about 1880 until 1914, and associated with the pawky stories of Ian Maclaren, S.R.Crockett, and J.M.Barrie, the inventor of Peter Pan and the never-never land. The conventional wisdom has been to see the Kailyard as the cultural expression of its age, of a dying and distinctive rural culture in the process of giving way to an urban, industrial, universalist culture in which Scotland was becoming a 'modern' society like any other. What marked it out as distinctive was not the reality in which people lived, but the romantic retrospect they created about the past, the 'authentic' Scotland which was disappearing. Scots had to decide whether to be modernists and realists (hence, British) or reactionaries and romantics (or Scots).



This way of seeing and explaining Scotland as only existing in the past was, according to many, reflected in the distorted versions of Scottish history which the school system had inherited. Scottish history was deemed to be about dead people and dead issues, kings, queens and battles long gone. Scottish history was the past. What had taken over was the British perspective, and any self-respecting rationalist had to accept this new identity. This was doubly necessary, because 'Scotland' was terminally tainted with the wild and fictional excesses of tartanry, that weird confection deemed to be the product of romantic imaginations, Jacobite nostalgia for an old order, and far-sighted commercial capitalism which recognised a profitable piece of hocum when it saw one. This assessment of tartanry was helped by the indubitable forgeries concocted by publishers who wished to cash in on the demand for 'authentic' tartans fostered by the Royal discovery of romantic heroes and Balmorality. Perhaps the most famous was that perpetrated by the self-styled Sobieski Stuarts (the brothers Allen) who invented a mythology of tartan in 1842 and called it Vestiarium Scoticum for good measure (these things sounding so much more authentic in Latin).

To many analysts of Scottish culture in the 20th century, these cultural formations of Kailyard and Tartanry were precisely the media expressions of a culture which had no political outlet. Shorn of connection with the real world of politics and power, a make-believe one had grown up like an exotic fungus on a rotten tree. It had two options: to wither and die by embracing the wider British state where power lay, or to be cast out as a colonialised culture to be replaced by new nationhood. Both Unionists and Nationalists agreed: Scottish culture as sustained by its media was not worth having.

The Survival of Scotland

How sure can we be that Scotland did disappear after the Union of 1707? Could it be that both the Unionist and Nationalist perspectives share the same false assumption that Scotland disappeared as a society and culture? The evidence seems to be that it did not. Far from Scotland being incorporated into Anglo-British society, it retained many of its distinctive institutions. For example, its legal, religious and educational systems remained largely intact, generating their own social elites who were to play such a key part in post-Union Scotland - the lawyers, the intellectuals and the ministers. These social institutions continued to run Scotland to all intents and purposes. These elites retained considerable autonomy in their own spheres. In other words, we can consider that Scotland retained a distinctive civil society within the British state. As long as Scotland provided little

political or military trouble for England (the rationale for the Union for the bigger partner), then it could continue to run its own internal affairs without due hindrance.

What Scotland had, in other words, was a fairly high degree of civil autonomy within what was a unitary British state. When local government was reformed in 1832, political power which mattered - that of burgh politics - was vested in the hands of the local Scottish bourgeoisie. Here we have, in essence, the explanation for the lack of Nationalism in the 19th century when most of Europe was gripped by this new political movement. The Scottish elites had effective control over the social and economic affairs which mattered to them so that there was little point in demanding back Scottish sovereignty which they had given up the century before in return for access to economic markets in and through England.

If this interpretation of Scottish history is correct, then we have a quite different account of Scottish culture post-Union. Rather than that culture being deformed and distorted by the lack of political power, it retained a considerable amount of autonomy, both local and national. Willie Donaldson has pointed out, for example, that the conventional image of the Kailyard as a dominating, inward-looking and parochial mind-set is a caricature. He distinguishes between book publishing (which carried the Kailyard novels) and the popular Scottish press which consisted of over 200 weekly titles all over Scotland. While the former was geared to a wider British and North American market thirled to religious fiction and sentimental introspection, the indigenous culture, reflected through the weekly press, was 'one of the richest and most vital episodes in the history of Scottish popular culture' ('Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland', Aberdeen University Press, 1986:149). In 1845, 25 Scottish burghs had a local newspaper. By 1860 the number had doubled, and doubled again by the end of the century. And there was a three-fold increase in the number of papers of all kinds in the period up to 1910. This press was aimed primarily at the upper working class and the lower middle class who were both experiencing a real increase in disposable income as well access to local political power. Donaldson concludes: 'The second half of the 19th century is not a period of creative trauma or linguistic decline; it is one of the richest and most vital episodes in the history of Scottish popular culture' (1986:149).

Neither could it be claimed that Tartanry was entirely a fantastic fabrication, for it had sufficient connection to the realities of modern Scottish life, Highland and Lowland, to provide a key distinguishing icon for Scots in the quest of greater cultural and political autonomy. In essence, the Scottish press in particular laid the foundations for a vital surge in Scottish national consciousness in the late 20th century. The main Scottish newspapers - The Scotsman, Glasgow Herald, Dundee Advertiser, and the Aberdeen Free Press - all changed from weekly to daily organs in the middle of the 19th century, such was their popularity and importance. They subsequently provided a Scottish perspective on all matters from that time, and while their politics were largely those of the UK parties, a century later they were instrumental in helping to create the new Scottish agenda.

Recreating Scotland

By the middle of the 20th century, a new Scotland was being fashioned. It was to be one no longer tied to heavy industry, no longer one in which control of the Scottish economy reflected local ownership. The agent for this process of modernisation was the state, or more precisely the Scottish Office, that administrative apparatus which had been formally constructed in 1885 to meet the disparate demands for more effective Scottish governance. This economic project, largely the preserve of the elites in the first part of the century, became a popular agenda in the second through the Scottish media, especially television. The advent of commercial television brought a new concern for news programmes and 'current affairs' which was matched by the incumbent BBC. The agenda was indubitably Scottish.

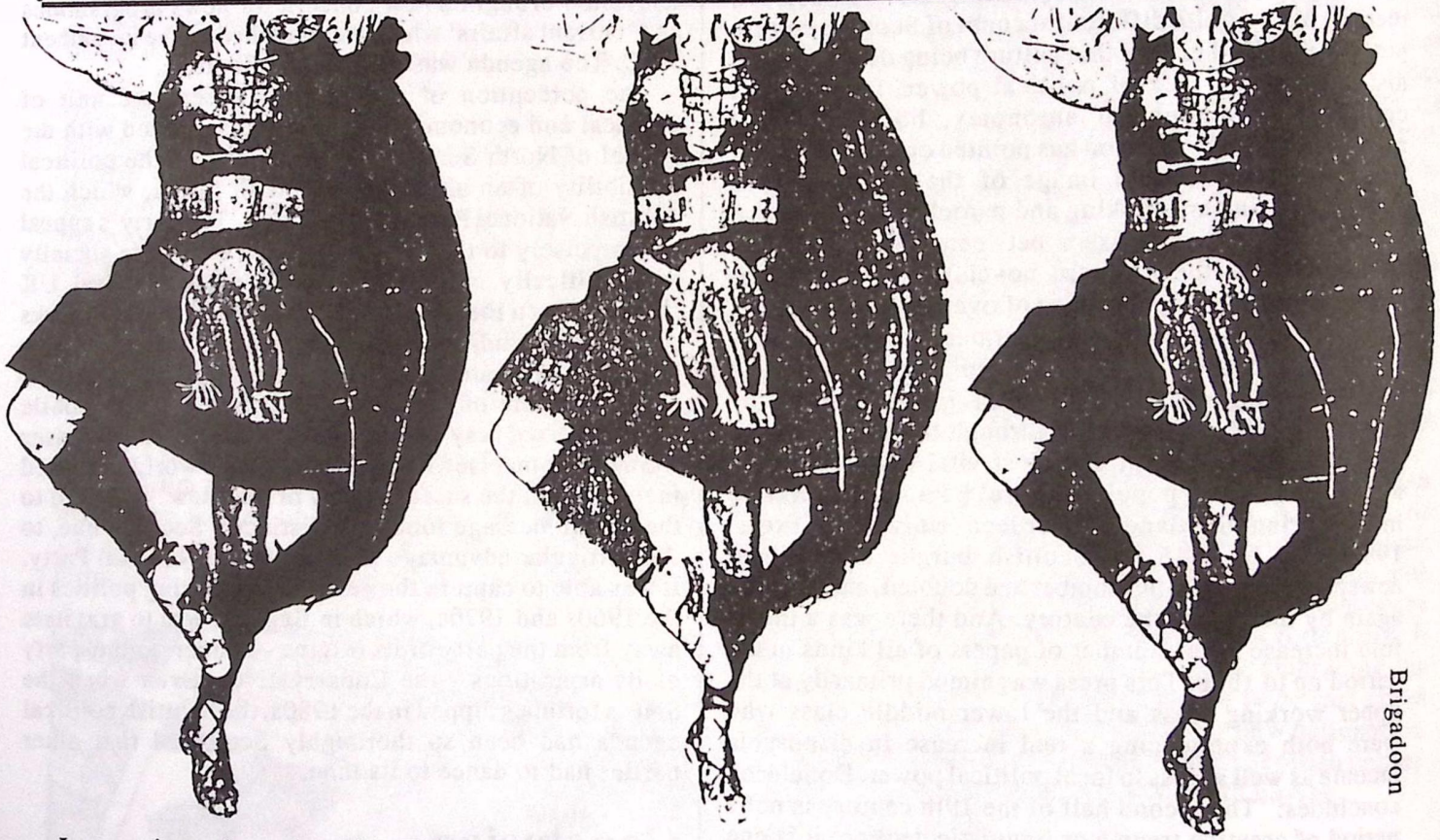
The perception of Scotland as a separate unit of political and economic management coincided with the arrival of North Sea oil, which opened up the political possibility of an alternative Scottish future, which the Scottish National Party was to exploit. The party's appeal was precisely to those social groups who were socially and politically mobile away from the traditional UK parties. Given the general weakening in the frameworks provided by traditional forms of social identity such as kin and workmates, television came into its own as a political frame of reference, reflecting a more mobile and privatised way of life. To be sure, these processes were going on elsewhere in the western world, England included, but the susceptibility of the 'new' Scotland to the media message took on a distinctly Scottish hue, to the particular advantage of the Scottish National Party. It was able to capture the generation entering politics in the 1960s and 1970s, which in England was to gravitate away from the party of its origins - Labour, to the party of its aspirations - the Conservatives. Even when the SNP's fortunes dipped in the 1980s, the Scottish political agenda had been so thoroughly Scottified that other parties had to dance to its tune.

Conclusion

The media in its different forms have played a crucial role in interpreting Scotland to itself and to outsiders. While some have argued that its parochial character is but a reflection of the incomplete and distorted nature of Scotland, there is much stronger evidence that it has helped to construct and to amplify a separate sense of Scotland as a distinctive civil society. As Britain has declined as a major economic and political power in the world, and as the sense of being 'British' has diminished as the numbers who experienced the 1939-45 war decline, so the ideological space has grown for alternative national identities. Imagining a different Scotland, constructing an alternative discourse, has been the task of the media north of the border over the last two centuries or so. Its harvest awaits to be gathered as Scotland approaches the end of the millenium. •

Some Musings on Scottish (popular) Culture (studies)

***Colin McArthur**, is author of Underworld USA (1972); Television and History (1976); Dialectic! Left Film Criticism from Tribune (1982); Scotch Reels: Scotland in Cinema and Television (ed. 1982); Big Heat (1992) and Casablanca File (1992) and Director of the Centre for Scottish Popular Culture at Queen Margaret College, Edinburgh.*



Brigadoon

I am serious about the title. This really is a series of impressionistic musings and questions round the diverse categories encapsulated in that title: Scottish culture; Scottish popular culture; and Scottish cultural studies.

It is evident that there is a lot of 'cultural studies' going on in Scotland: the degree and post-graduate work in film and television at the University of Glasgow; Glasgow Polytechnic; Queen Margaret College, Edinburgh; and other tertiary institutions: the existence of AMES and the diverse pieces in the Media Education Journal which go far beyond the tertiary work to include articles on computing, desktop publishing, interactive video, fashion and pop: and, not least, the institutionalisation of this work in the curriculum through mechanisms like SCOTVEC. I guess what holds this work together, and perhaps sets it apart from other interventions into Scottish culture and Scottish popular culture, is its being informed by the Anglo-American cultural studies armature, specifically the discourses of marxism, feminism, (post-) structuralism, semiotics and psychoanalysis. Beyond this work, and perhaps overlapping to some degree with it, are the activities of the University of Edinburgh's School of Scottish Studies; the same university's engagement with Scottish literature within its English literature programme; the more institutionally embedded work on Scottish literature at the University of Glasgow; and, more recently, the emergence of diverse, often tertiary-based institutions pledged to specific engagement with Scottish culture. These include the Post-graduate School of Scottish Historical, Literary and Cultural Studies at the University of Glasgow; the Centre for Scottish Popular Culture at Queen Margaret College, Edinburgh; the Centre for Scottish Studies at Strathclyde University; the Scottish Identity Study Group at Glasgow Polytechnic; and the cultural programme of the Saltire Society.

Beyond the formal institutions concerned with Scottish (popular) culture is another institution which in terms of day to day influence maybe vastly more important. It is the Scottish Press

All of these mechanisms seem to know very little about each other. An obvious suggestion is to call for a Scottish Cultural Studies Association within which all relevant bodies and personnel might meet, and the creation of a journal within which specifically Scottish (popular) cultural questions might be addressed. This is not a suggestion I intend making. I can just about bear the idea of another journal (although the new Edinburgh University-based **Scottish Affairs** may partly fulfil that role) but the prospect of yet another round of conferences makes me blanche, especially since there might be yawning gaps in theoretical orientation and discursive practice among the bodies cited above. For instance, my impression (and that is all that it is) of Edinburgh's School of Scottish Studies is that it has remained innocent of what I have described as the Anglo-American cultural studies armature and that its central concern continues to be with origins and survivals of certain popular, pre-industrial Scottish cultural forms. That said, however, to indicate that institutions are rarely monolithic, Ian Spring, the writer of one of the most important Scottish cultural studies texts (Phantom Village: the Myth of the New Glasgow), did his post-graduate work there. In the same vein, underlying the sharp attacks of Dr Andrew Noble (of Strathclyde's Centre for Scottish Studies) on my own writings, there is (suspect) a conception of art and the artist some way removed from my own.

Beyond the formal institutions concerned with Scottish (popular) culture is another institution which, in terms of day to day influence on what is inside the heads of Scots, may be vastly more important. That institution is the Scottish press. To take only the 'heavy' press, THE HERALD, THE SCOTSMAN and SCOTLAND ON SUNDAY, it has apparati for dealing with Scottish (popular) culture — regular book reviews, columns on art, architecture, diverse kinds of music, theatre, cinema, television and feature pieces and readers' letters ad nauseam on the question of 'Scottish identity'. Like the other institutions referred to above, the 'heavy' press is not monolithic. This or that columnist is more or less perceptive and there is even a discursive 'uneven development' in the extent to which feminism has carved a place for itself in this sector. Precisely because women have had to engage with the relationship between discourse and power, it is often within the feminist sections of the press that the most pertinent observations are made about Scottish (popular) culture. Nevertheless, the Scottish 'heavy' press is a sector which, on the whole, has remained untouched by the concepts and methods deployed in cultural studies. This is perhaps writ largest in its television reviewing which often manages to be both elitist and anti-intellectualist simultaneously and which has never come to grips with the substantial work on television produced within British and American cultural studies. In this respect it is no worse than its London-based counterpart. One of the things being contemplated by Queen Margaret College's Centre for Scottish Popular Culture is a weekend seminar on press coverage of the arts in four societies; Scotland, France, Germany and Italy, the main idea being to assess the extent to which discursive categories differ from one society to another.

However, if there is no lack of cultural studies in Scotland, why has 'Scotland' so seldom been the subject of study within it? My hunch is that this is partly to be explained by the peculiar trajectory of British cultural studies. There is a tendency nowadays to see Birmingham University's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies as the 'onlie begetter' of cultural studies in these islands. A more detailed history would not the role of certain polytechnics and the Education Department of the British Film Institute which predate the Birmingham Centre, but unquestionably the Centre progressed the cultural studies project in the most comprehensive and theoretically elaborated way. To oversimplify, the four founding texts which point towards a field like cultural studies and an institution like the Centre are Richard Hoggart's The Uses of Literacy, (1961), E.P. Thompson's The Making of the English Working Class (1963) and Raymond Williams' Culture and Society:1780-1950 (1958) and The Long Revolution (1965). I would add a fifth, Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel's The Popular Arts (1964), nowadays

Scotland and Film

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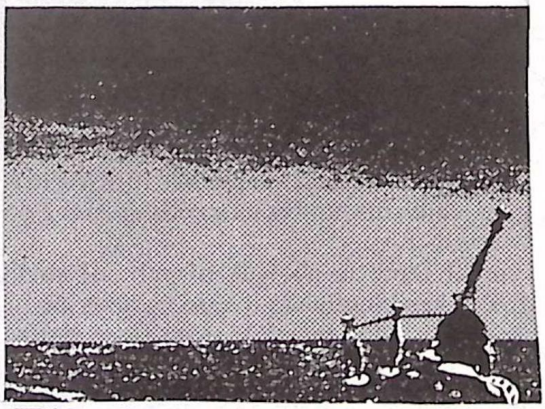

The 'quality' press is still more likely to get worked up about a Bette Midler movie than the future of Scottish film culture and/or industry, with the result that the debates and arguments all to rarely appear in print.

In a recent 'Herald' article (Postcards from the Edge, 30/9/92) Rob Brown outlined Scotland's developing role as a sanatorium for stressed-out German businessmen. The thrust of the article was both familiar and depressing: Scotland's geographic position as a periphery of the UK, and the peripheral position of the UK (like Southern Italy, Greece or Portugal) within the land mass of Europe, would ensure that the post-1992 Euroboom would pass Scotland by. Such was the view of Klaus von Dohnanyi, former mayor of Hamburg, currently director of a major heavy engineering firm in Leipzig. However, while Scotland was not considered a suitable site for capital investment, the 'mist-covered mountains and sweeping glens' were just the ticket for that well-earned breather. The most effective 'brochure' for this National Holiday Resort was a film which was developing cult status on the German cinema circuit, Bill Forsyth's *Local Hero*, its portrait of a crazed industrial patriarch (Burt Lancaster) finding peace of mind among the silver sand dunes proving all-too irresistible to the German industrialist.

The article, and especially the disclosure about *Local Hero*, produced a brief and nostalgic flurry of activity in the 'Herald's' letter page. Colin McArthur, Director of the Queen Margaret College Centre for Popular Culture applauded Brown's article and fired a broadside at the institutions of Scottish film culture, the Scottish Film Council and the Scottish Film Production Fund. *Local Hero*, argued McArthur, belonged in a long line of cinematic representations of Scotland, from the earliest days through to *The Maggie* and *Brigadoon* and in its representation of a 'dream Scotland' perpetuated an enfeebling discourse, the result of which was being demonstrated in Brown's article. The SFC and the SFPF were accused of being silent partners in a conspiracy to reduce the nation to a site of sentimental kitsch, in their endorsement of *Local Hero* as a model for aspiring Scots film makers.

This activity I described as nostalgic for two reasons. Firstly, through the unfortunate position adopted by the Scottish media in its failure to engage with the on-going arguments around issues of Scottish film culture. The 'quality' press is still more likely to get worked up about a Bette Midler movie than the future of Scottish film culture and/or industry, with the result that the debates and arguments all to rarely appear in print. Secondly, McArthurs' position is clearly allied to the 'Scotch Reels' event of 1982 which placed many of these debates on the map; it ignores the real changes that have taken place since then and seems out-of-touch in citing *Local Hero* as the model appropriated by the cultural institutions for Scottish feature film success.

The debate which 'Scotch Reels' opened and McArthur continues does provide a valid position from which to

view Scottish film heritage and to consider the representations of Scotland to be unearthed in film and television productions. Janet McBain of the Scottish Film Archive has produced a filmography of Scotland in Feature Film which clearly illustrates that from cinema's earliest days the cinematic representations of Scots and Scotland were confined within very narrow parameters. A brief perusal of titles can confirm the worst fears: *The Skirl of the Pibroch*, *Sandy's New Kilt*, and *The Chieftain's Revenge* are typical examples.

With the bulk of Scottish film fiction emanating from England and America it was perhaps inevitable that representations of Scots would be bedevilled by the twin deadly discourses of 'tartanry' and 'kailyard'; The ensuing vision of Scotland is thus a wild, romantic landscape inhabited by kilted and bearded chieftains in thrall to the pipes and the whisky, or else couthy, happy folk whose anachronistic ways lead them to possess a wisdom unobtainable in the modern world.

'Scotch Reels' identified these discourses as consistent across a range of representations of the Scots and pinpointed them as regressive precisely because they evaded, simplified or effaced the social, political and economic tensions which were at the heart of what they purported to portray.

The power and seductiveness of these positions may have been partially due to their being little or no indigenous fiction produced to offset such crippling romanticism. Scots may have been enthusiastic consumers of film but no corresponding industry arose to challenge them. The power and scale of the American film industry was such that from the earliest days Hollywood was in a position to establish itself as the world's number one supplier of film product. The problem that the British, let alone the Scots, have faced in mounting an opposition to the economic might of the American industry do not belong here, but the dominance of Hollywood as a producer of first international, then English language product, thwarted the rise of many a local industry.

If the production of fiction film was to elude the Scots for years, there was more success in the field of non-fiction from the activities of John Grierson, through the work of animator Norman McLaren to the establishment of the Films of Scotland Committee in 1954. This body was responsible for raising sponsorship from industry, banks, public and governmental institutions to produce films which projected a favourable image of Scotland.

Such a remit resulted in the documentary output steering dangerously close to the mythical contours inherent in many fictional representations of the country, but the long-term significance of Films of Scotland was in its creation of a skilled and ambitious workforce. A body of writers, directors, producers and technicians was born determined to reinvent itself as an industry capable of operating within a diversity of industrial practices and of exploring a range of fictional and non-fictional forms.

The frustrations of working within the 'strait-jacket' of Films of Scotland led to a number of film-makers establishing their own production companies but struggling to survive in the absence of any public sector funding. In 1976 an event called 'Film Bang' brought together the producers and personnel in a profile-raising operation aimed at creating a lobbying body to agitate for public support for Scottish film-making.

What prospects are there for adequate funding for film in Scotland, and are there any means by which culture and industry can become coherently administered by the public institutions?

The funding implications of establishing such an agency are significant, yet to return to the 'fair-share'

1982 was perhaps a watershed year for Scottish film.

1982 was perhaps a watershed year for Scottish film. It was the year of the 'Scotch Reels' event (and subsequent publication) and in its timing, the event polarised attitudes towards Scottish film. Three years on from the devolution debate of 1979 with the potential of increased funding for the arts seemingly dashed, two feature films had been made which were invaluably significant in production terms. The debates and arguments prompted by the event produced a set of still-valid critical tools which were as useful for analysing *Mhairi, the Romance of a Highland Maiden*, as they were for *Tutti Frutti*. However, the film-makers enthusiasm for the industrial significance of *That Sinking Feeling* and *Gregory's Girl* was not matched by any ideological endorsement from the academics, creating a divide between the theorist and the producer. For the former the debate centred around the kind of film which should be made in Scotland ; for the latter it was the means to produce them that was crucial.

Both issues came further into focus in 1982 with the establishment of two new sources of institutional funding: Channel Four and the Scottish Film Production Fund. The development of Channel Four, with its remit to be innovative and to reflect regional diversity ensured that there were (initially) favourable conditions for the independent production sector. Channel Four was felt to need Scotland to fulfil its regional remit and in the flurry of commissions a 'boom-time' atmosphere developed. The significance of the new channel was therefore that it not only funded 'mainstream' projects like Charlie Gormley's *Living Apart Together* but also provided a 'space', and audiences, for off-centre projects like Murray Grigor's *Scotch Myths* or Doug Eadie's *How to be Celtic*.

The establishment of the Scottish Film Production Fund put an end to the anomaly whereby the public

Scotland an

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stly neglected but a bible for those who beg ning careers in the 1960s and a text which ir xtent to which film education and film educa in at the birth of cultural studies. Indee Cabe, in a recent lecture at the National Film ondon, described Paddy Whannel as 'th n of British film culture', by which h

the last ten years a lively diversity is revealed with no slavish adherence to traditional narrative forms. Indeed many of the productions supported could be maintained as playing a strategic role in the process of dismantling a 'dream Scotland', concerned instead in establishing representations of many diverse ways of Scottish life. Ian Wyse's *Fall from Grace*, Rosie Gibson's *The Work They Say Is Mine*, David Hayman's *Silent Scream*, , Tim Neat's *Play Me Something* and Margaret Tait's *Blue Black Permanent* are all films which either go against the received notions of 'Scottishness', or else disrupt the mainstream narrative form which the Fund is accused of courting.

Where the Fund has courted controversy of late is over the level of assistance given to two recent feature films *Venus Peter* and *Prague* from the team of writer/director Ian Sellar and producer Chris Young. The former was funded to the level of £100,000, the later to £140,000; this was particularly contentious given that the film's cast (with the exception of the lead) and most of its crew were European. As these figures represent the bulk of the Fund's annual resources, such large amounts (in the context of the Fund if not the films' overall budgets) were considered unreasonable.

Both films however can be viewed as having created further opportunities for film in Scotland. *Venus Peter* was filmed on the Orkney Islands after receiving financial backing from the Orkney Islands Council. The immediate benefits to the local economy of having a feature production based on the Isles, not to mention the long-term tourist spin-off potential, ensured that the local authority recouped its money many times over.

This public sector intervention was a significant factor in the establishment of Scottish Screen Locations, an organisation funded by the industry and local authorities to promote Scotland as a base for (indigenous and foreign) film production.

Prague has pointed to new opportunities for European co-production; Chris Young, having persuaded the Orkney Islands to back his previous project, this time struck a deal with French producer Claudie Ossard and the Constellation company responsible for such films as *Betty Blue* and *Delicatessen*. As to the dilemma as to whether the film is Scottish or European, the film's narrative is especially timely in it's depiction of a young Scot, linked through his mother, to the experience of the Holocaust and the legacy of European Communism, attempting to answer questions about his identity. At a time when notions of an independent Scotland in Europe are commonplace in our political vocabulary, the film seems particularly pertinent.

Within its limited resources, it can be argued that the Fund's output has a breadth and diversity which can be seen to answer accusations of complacency towards dismantling negative discourses. The Fund's projects, many of them supported by, amongst others, Channel Four, reveal a broader range of representations of Scots than was conceivable before 1982. This is not to suggest that Scotland has adequate access to Channel Four resources, or that the debates which centre around the Fund's policies are defunct; merely to acknowledge that a relatively stable production base has been seeded with opportunities to compete in a variety of markets.

From 1982 the Scottish Film Council (with the Scottish Arts Council) had been responsible for appointing the members of the Fund, and had provided much practical support but virtually no money. When in 1989 the Fund became entirely separate from SFC, with its own Director, the Council came under fire,once again for being in the supposedly anomalous position of promoting film culture in Scotland without funding film production.

While the assumption that film culture and industry have a shared identity is a commonplace one, the Film Council's main activities have been to establish a cultural infrastructure against which an industry has the potential to develop, not least in the fields of exhibition and education. The establishment of a Regional Film Theatre network of 7 cinemas around Scotland has provided opportunities for audiences to engage with all aspects of film (and television). The development of education activities in these venues at formal and informal levels has been crucial to their success.

Likewise the strategically important role that SFC has played in the development of media education in the formal sector has been significant in strengthening Scotland's role in the development of media education in Europe. That the Council (in conjunction with the Production Fund) is evolving its education role to engage with the development of screenwriting and producing skills (through the 'Movie Makars' events) is a significant shift. The role of the Scottish Film Archive in preserving Scotland's moving image heritage and providing access to that heritage is vital for a small country's sense of identity. A recent small-scale production initiative (in conjunction with Scottish Television) called 'First Reels' has enabled more people to engage with the techniques and practices of film-making. While such an initiative has placed a strain upon the under-resourced Workshop sector it has created new opportunities for support and investment for small-scale film-making from both the public and private sectors.

These achievements however have all taken place in a climate of considerable under-funding. Applying the Goshen Formula, the Scottish Arts and Museums Councils receive approximately 12% of the UK resources.in their respective fields. In contrast, SFC receives 5% of the

"Rockets Galore"

What prospects are there for adequate funding for film in Scotland, and are there any means by which culture and industry can become coherently administered by the public institutions?

British Film Institute's total grant. In arguing for a 'fair-share' of the funding, however, it is a levelling-up that is necessary, not a reduction in the BFI's grant.

What prospects are there for adequate funding for film in Scotland, and are there any means by which culture and industry can become coherently administered by the public institutions? A recent proposal has taken steps to explore such possibilities in calling for the establishment of a Scottish Screen Agency. This would be a single body, bringing together the existing public institutions, in an attempt to operate at the nexus of moving image culture and industry in Scotland. The Agency would have the funding facilitation and regulation of the moving image devolved to it from Government and would become the means by which the development of an integrated film and television industry would be assisted. A model for such an Agency has been outlined. Six separate divisions would deal with Research, Education and Publications; Development and Production; Distribution and Exhibition; Archive; Training; and Locations. Each division would have operational autonomy within the strategic policies agreed by the Agency, and a Policy Unit would be the means of establishing the coherence and integration of divisional policy.

It has been argued that the current fragmented situation whereby the existing public bodies operate separately and with no real formal level of consultation, is neither efficient nor conducive to progress and that a single body with an holistic approach to culture and industry could operate comprehensively and coherently. In addition, the Agency, recognising the increasing convergence of film and television would seek the support of both industries in order to establish a position whereby it could speak for the consensus of the screen community.

During the consultation process in the drawing up of Scotland's Charter for the Arts this proposal was put before the Scottish screen community who were unanimous in their support. This positive response has led to the principal Recommendation in the Moving Image Paper of the Charter for the Arts being that "the public bodies currently responsible for moving image culture in Scotland draft an agreed plan for the creation of a new Scottish screen agency and seek government support and approval for its implementation".

The funding implications of establishing such an agency are significant, yet to return to the 'fair-share' issue above, if both SFC and SFPF were allocated their appropriate quota of government expenditure on the moving image, an extra £1 million would come into the economy of the moving image in Scotland. The opportunities that this would create to stimulate production and enhance exhibition and distribution at home and abroad would represent a significant return for investment and go some distance towards moving Scotland from the margins of the international moving image scene. The achievement of the Gaels in raising £9.5 million per annum from Government to increase the amount of television in Gaelic by up to an additional two hundred hours of broadcasting has, unsurprisingly, had an inspirational effect upon such developing screen strategies.

Clearly the task of drawing up an agenda for such an agency, not to mention a constitution is fraught with dangers. The fetishisation of production which, understandably, informs the production sector could lead to a situation whereby cultural activity would be marginalised. The success of the agency depends upon an integrated and balanced approach to the establishment of a moving image culture and industry which could be as vital as anywhere in Europe.

Doubtless *Local Hero* will continue to serve as a player in the strategies of the Scottish Tourist Board. The task of dismantling the 'dream Scotland' discourse has, however, been underway (albeit slowly) for ten years (and may have began quitely in *Local Hero* itself). The achievements and advances of the last decade have led to a frequently bruised and always cautious level of optimism for the future. To believe that a new screen agency would answer all the questions and solve all the problems facing the screen community would be a myth in itself. The new structure proposed does hold the promise of a coherent point of engagement, one which will refer and relate to all the issues which must be addressed by culture and industry. If the necessary levels of support can be achieved to enable it to take its necessarily catalytic role in the screen community, the moving image may finally be able to take a leading role in Scottish cultural life. •

Hunting The Scottish Snark

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"Advertising is, of course, our most popular reading, listening, and watching matter, precisely because it transports us to where the rigidities of the real world have dissolved"

Daniel Boorstin *The Image.*

There are major problems for anyone attempting to analyse the British advertising industry and even greater risks in focussing attention on its products in Scotland from a theoretical perspective: we lack any sort of national archive of materials, the subject has only relatively recently become an integral part of courses in higher education and in terms of an adequate historical account of the industry, the best popular account remains a 40 year old text, E S Turner's *The Shocking History of Advertising.* The industry seems to live in an eternal present.

There are however some observations that can be made which could perhaps become the basis for a debate between the industry's practitioners and those attempting to train the next generation of aspirants.

In Scotland it is a truism that any product of the mass communications must proclaim its Scottishness or risk damnation. The Unique Selling Proposition has to be, if not a family member who fell at Culloden, at least a Birth Certificate that says Bellshill and not Belsize Park. This leads of course to a kind of Admans Kailyard that would even make J.M Barrie wince. Two examples will suffice. A popular make of crisps named **Highlander**, naturally, has as its motto on every packet *'The Crisp of the Clans'* together with the standard kilted warrior and claymore. A range of dairy products is marketed under the generic title **Scottish Pride.** The decision which block of red Dunlop to buy, whether to munch through another packet of Tandoori flavoured crisps is, north of Carlisle, an ideological act.What seems to be at work here is a patriotism so diluted, debased and as to be nearly deranged.

Newspaper sales in Scotland are dominated by the home grown product. In the quality daily market Glasgow's **The Herald**, the leading title, outsells **The Daily Telegraph** by nearly 95,000 copies. In the tabloid daily market **The Daily Record** although still the biggest seller with sales of 753,000 copies still leads the pack but is facing increasingly stiff competition from the Scottish edition of **The Sun,** which since its opening in Kinning Park, Glasgow in 1984 has steadily gained in circulation. It now sells nearly 300,000 copies and claims that the Scottish edition is little more than the Wapping edition with a kilt round it have not prevented a steady 3-4% increase in sales each year at the expense of the Record.

The most visible sign of this rivalry is in the car stickers both papers have continued to issue. **The Daily Record** has built its advertising campaign round the slogan "Real Scots read the Record" and the appropriate car sticker announces" I'm a real Scot from ..." together with the logo. **The Sun's** reply is a car sticker based on the notorious Scottish edition of January 23rd of this year. In that edition the first six pages were devoted to the need for Scottish independence. The banner headline across a front page almost entirely devoted to the Saltire was "Rise now and be a nation again'. This slogan, based on the chorus of Flower of Scotland became, a thousand car stickers. The reason for all this was according to the paper ,the proximity of Burns Night and the imminent General Election. Others thought perhaps it had more to do with circulation and the unpopularity of conservatism in Scotland. However much the two papers insisted on their Scottishness the fact remains that economic ownership of both papers remained well outside of Scotland, in the U.S.A and Lichenstein. However spurious no branch of the Scottish media can afford to ignore any chance to insist on its Scottishness, thus STV's logo is stylised thistle, and Grampian's is the Saltire

Advertising in Scotland is in the case of most major institutions made by firms south of the border. Thus for example **General Accident** with a spend of over £13 million use a London agency as do **United Distillers** (£9 million spend), **Scottish Amicable** (£2.9 million), **Scottish Widows** (£1.7 million). The total annual Scottish advertising spend of approximately £200 million is almost identical to the Media Registered Billings for Saatchi and Saatchi in 1991.

The problem for these London based agencies is that they know they must play the Scottish card for all its worth if they are to succeed. Thus for example the purchase of that most successful Scottish product, the single malt, is invariable yet another celebration of Scottish kitsch. Thus the Holmes Knight Ritchie agency, who are responsible for the Glenmorangie advertising, produce woodcut after woodcut celebrating the work of the 'Men of Tain'. The tin case this whisky comes in, made in Mansfield by Barringer Wallis and Manners 'Makers of Tin Boxes since 1890', presents around the sides a frieze of Scottish crafts fly tying, bagpipe making,

hand crafting golf clubs and finally kiltmaking. The agency produces little tales of Scottish pawky wit to promote The Macallan. The Malt.

The one notable exception in major advertising work going south is the work The Leith Agency have done, especially on television, in promoting the Scottish market leader in lager sales, **Tennents Lager**. The early advertisements in the sequence dealt with a series of white male epiphanies. In the Big Match a man living in a Glasgow tenement realises his T.V is broken just before the big football match, He looks out sees a woman opposite cleaning her windows and after much mime, and, Glasgow being Glasgow, she invites him in to watch the match together with her two girl friends, one pretty one plain: wee man gets to see the game. The most successful in the series in terms of audience response was this year's 'Caledonia' where Scots boy leaves the horrors of the metropolis to return to his Edinburgh roots i.e clean city and a pub off Princes Street.

This together with the Sun edition mentioned earlier seemed to me to be two defining moments in Scottish popular culture in 1992. Later examples in this work seem to me to be rather elaborate homages to the work of Ridley Scot and Alexander MacKendrick.

The next major government account to be available in Scotland would appear to be water privatisation. All but one of the previous privatisation advertising went south of the border, Faulds and Scottish Electricity being the exception. The interesting question looms how will a Scottish agency if selected sell water to the Scots? A product they view with such reverence that they only permit dilution of it with whisky. •

Tennent's Lager

Mark Fallows of the Leith Agency talks about the strategy employed in advertising Tennent's Lager.

Tennent's Lager is Scotland's number one lager. It commands over 55% of the market and sells in the region of 640,000 pints per day. It has been the brand leader since its launch in 1885.

The Leith Agency is the advertising agency appointed to produce the advertising for Tennent's Lager.

The multi-media campaign works with other elements of the marketing mix to maintain and grow the brand's share in what is a declining but increasingly competitive market.

Question In the marketing of Tennent's Lager how do you decide on the target market?

Answer That's a decision that is made in conjunction with the Client and ourselves. With a product like lager, it is generally accepted that the target for your advertising is where the growth in the market is, and where the future of the market will be, and that is the 18 to 24 year old sector. Generally speaking without making any wild assumptions, 18 to 24 year olds within the market place are the drinkers who are the most experimental with brand choice. They will start off drinking one particular brand and will experiment over a period of maybe anything between two years and up to six or seven years depending on the individuals. Generally as they get older, various decisions on what they drink are governed more by distribution strength and the local pub they go to and by economic factors, their lifestyle, their social setting, if they are married, have commitments to children etc. All these factors impinge on what they decide to buy and therefore they are more static and fixed in their repertoire. Therefore the decision they take when they are 18 to 24 years old tends to vary little after that. The challenge to advertising isn't really to change drinking habits of those over 24 year old whose habits are generally set. It's between 18 and 24 that they experiment and eventually, habits are laid down. Advertising plays one little part in that. It is generally accepted amongst all advertisers of lager to be the market to aim at, for it is the group whose behaviour can be influenced by advertising. Today's youth are much more mobile and cosmopolitan in their outlook and they want to leave behind the traditional beer drinking and working class imagery and look further afield. They are motivated now probably more by imagery and media from outside Scotland. They are touched by fashion, music and travel, and it influences their entire perceptions. They may be introverted in their lifestyle in Scotland, but they would like to aspire to be more European, and cosmopolitan in the way they want to represent themselves, (we have discovered this through research), and I think you can see that particularly if you go to Glasgow, probably more so than Edinburgh. The way people dress, the types of bars people go to, the types of clubs they go to. Everything is bit more high fashion or style orientated and this has to be an effect of media, travel and music and probably some other factors as well. The brand has to change with its market. If a marketeer is not aware of this and the changes that people are under-going you are going to be left behind, and that's the importance of research in the marketing cycle.

Question Does this apply equally to male and female?

Answer No. It applies generally to male drinkers, as that is where volume consumption lies now and in the future. Females do drink lager but it is not sexist by excluding them from the target profile. The images and brand personality we are attempting to portray, relates to our understanding of the male drinker. If we were to target the female lager drinkers' we would have to do further research to understand their habits and motivations and that cannot be justified in volume terms. The same would apply to males A, B 24-34 year old. Therefore we restrict our research to male lager drinkers,18-24.

Question Is Scotland specific in the ideas which form the adverts - "Lager Galore" and the one with Dougie McLean last winter "London"?

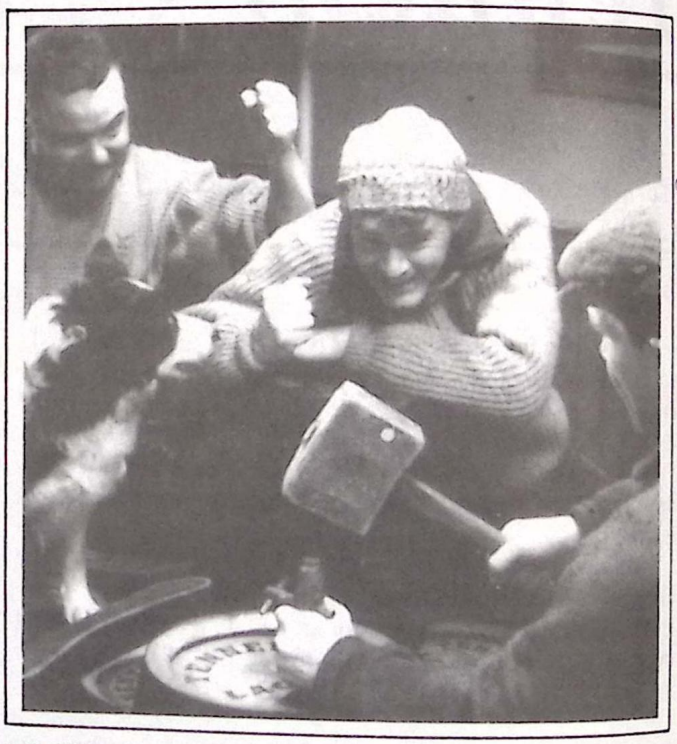
Answer Not really. It's incidental that it is Scotland really. Years ago, going back to maybe, anything between the 1960's when Tennents started advertising Tennent's lager on television right up to 1989/90, Scotland played an incidental role but this is a reflection of the beer as Scotlands' favourite brand. I don't think there has been any ad where Scotland has been central to the communication. Communication has always focused on the lager quality and popularity, its Scottish heritage or its position of being Scotland's number 1 has always been support to the core proposition. Scotland may be mentioned or it may come out in the communication, but it hasn't been the direct objective of any part of the campaign. Through that period if you sat down and looked at the historic reel of the Tennents lagers advertising, I think that would become fairly clear. The 1986 ad "One Great Thing" is a good example.

Specifically in relation to the "London" commercial it wasn't intended in any way to portray Scotland as a better place than London. A year after the ad was launched, there was quite a lot of nationalistic fever being whipped up in the run-up to the election and it was coincidental, that the ad was still running on cinema and on television. Consequently there was quite a bit of publicity directed at it.

I think if you go back to the original brief we were trying to convey the quality and emotional attachment to the brand. The creative idea was to associate Tennents Lager with this individual and his decision to look for a better quality of life. The departing from the city could have been represented by any city in the world. The actions of throwing in his job, tossing his briefcase into the lorry, leaving his girlfriend, leaving what is probably a very secure, financially rewarding job to return to his homeland emphasise his disenchantment. His return to Scotland is because Tennent's Lager is a Scottish brand and was critical for the credibility of the ad. You have to provide images that people can associate with and therefore the decision was to portray London and Edinburgh. The intention was purely to try to communicate the quality of the brand through association with a better quality of life. We could have made it New York that he left behind to return to Scotland. We are not trying to make any grand statement about Scotland through that ad. Again it was more a statement about the brand via images that are familiar to the target market. In the UK the brand is really only widely available in Scotland and Northern Ireland. The ad was also made for Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland and the shots and scenes of his homecoming were shot in a different location.

Again Scotland was incidental in the making of the film 'Tennents Galore.' It was really the germ of the idea that came from a brief that set an objective to produce a script that was ingenious, original and entertaining advertising, that would also communicate the classic, timeless nature of the brand. The fact is that the creative team wrote a script around an actual event which was eventually produced in the style of the old Ealing 40s films to effectively communicate the proposition.

The "Galore" advert was all original footage. stimulates and We then submitted scripts to research which are tested, usually two or three scripts. The script that comes through strongest in that research then goes into a pre-production. The script is then taken up to storyboard stage and a production company is employed who then are given the job of making it in conjunction with the



Tennent's Lager

agency.

That film was shot on location in Port Soy in the north of Scotland over a period of seven days. It was an extremely complicated shoot as a lot of work was done to recreate the look of 1940's Scotland. There was a great deal of attention to detail in the street scenes, removing the current style of windows, cars and all the signs of 1990's Scotland to recreate the village look of the 1940's. Actors had to be cast. A massive amount of extras had to be on hand 20 hours a day. We had to build a village hall in the village because there was no existing village hall. We scoured Scotland with location finders trying to find a particular village hall that would look the part and we couldn't find anything. So art directors and set designers went to work building the exterior of this village hall. The interior was in a real hall. So it was a fairly arduous and long drawn out shoot which involved a large cast and a large production team. The post-production work was again very complex because the film was shot during the day and then produced into a

day for night effect.

Question Do you think the way Scotland is moving politically and culturally has a direct influence on advertising and vice versa?

Answer Is that Tennents advertising particular or just generally?

Question Either.

Answer The answer is that it will have an influence because in marketing generally one of the key factors you have to understand is the environment in which you are operating, and any business must take into account who or what their market is in terms of the way it is moving. Clearly politically and culturally if the Scottish market and Scottish population started to change radically, then marketeers and advertisers would have to take account of that. That would have to depend on the direction and how extreme that movement was. We are always aware of any political, cultural backdrop, mainly in terms of not veering into an area that could cause offence or could cause problems for the brand, which would make it contentious or offensive to any individual group whether it be politically or culturally.
As mentioned at the beginning the advertising is just one small element in the total communication mix.
To ensure Tennent's Lager remains relevant to the new drinkers entering the market Tennents will continue to use their expertise in all aspects of communication to present their brand in a motivating and relevant manner.•

Fizzy Drinks and Cultural Icons

***Frank Gormlie** is a teacher and researcher in media in Edinburgh.*

Thirty years after Andy Warhol turned Campbell's soup cans into art objects, it does not seem strange to our post-modern minds that a sweet and fizzy drink should be one of the greatest cultural icons of the century. Coca Cola's distinctive bottle shape, logo and red and white packaging have come to stand, not only for American culture, but for economic and political influence in a world seen as a global marketplace. Coke seems to say so many things about America. Its image is brash, young, lively, trendsetting, sexy, powerful and above all confident. You have to be confident of yourself, and of the range of images produced about you, to be happy to be represented by a fizzy drink.

While we might claim a remarkably similar iconic role for Irn-Bru in Scotland, there has been a sense of discomfort about it. So very few symbols of Scotland are used in the media that their orchestration often leaves us with the feeling of self parody. Irn-Bru advertising in the seventies and eighties did little to alter that sense of discomfort, using stereotyped images of a red haired lad, most often in urban industrial settings and the slogan "your other national drink". And if Irn-Bru was seen as something distinctly Scottish and different, like our education or legal system perhaps, it had an image which played heavily on the sense of distinctive tradition - a looking to the past for validation of separate identity rather than to the future.

There is a temptation to interpret the change in Irn-Bru's advertising image in 1990 as somehow related to shifts in cultural confidence and Scots' sense of identity which have taken place during the last decade. The problem with that interpretation is a familiar one of intentionality. We know that advertising agencies are unlikely to see themselves as agents of social or cultural change. And if we dismiss intentionality we are left with vague theories of zeitgeist. The real answer, of course, lies not in the ineffable but in the actual practices of the advertising industry where creative directors do not tune in to "something in the air" but to the messages of market researchers.

AG Barr, the producers of Irn-Bru , is an old established company in Scotland. In the mid seventies they expanded into England with the acquisition of the company that made Tizer, a similar "traditional" soft drink.

The soft drinks market is highly competitive. It is dominated by lemonade, which is usually generic and rarely bought by brand, and cola with the two American brands, Coke and Pepsi, far outstripping any other. All other brands compete for a share of the market which is less than 30%. In 1989, Irn-Bru was just about holding its market in Scotland, though even that was felt to be under threat, and was finding it difficult to expand anywhere else. There had been some increased market share in the North of England but their showing in the South was very poor. Part of the problem was in distribution; Irn-Bru was a small shop product not often stocked by the supermarket chains. Despite redesign of labels and packaging and the introduction of Diet Irn-Bru in keeping with the health conscious eighties, they were not making much headway. Against this background, Barr's re-thought the marketing strategy and commissioned extensive research on the product.

Researchers interviewed large numbers of teenagers, the target market for most soft drinks, about their

preferences and about advertising images of soft drinks. To no-one's surprise they found that the audience was highly media literate and very aware of the images of the different brands. Many though were quite cynical about the advertising campaigns of the two large American companies even though the products and their ads were seen as classics like "raybans" or Levi 501s. The ads were often criticised as being bland, too glossy, too American, too perfect. While many liked the Pepsi ads, others thought they were too obsessed with competing against Coke. Adverts like the Pepsi Lorry were liked for over-the-top Americanness by some viewers but just as many, particularly girls, thought them stupid.

Irn-Bru's image differed in different parts of the country. Awareness was naturally high in Scotland where it was seen almost as part of the furniture, something you grew up with. It's image as a Scottish drink was a certain source of pride for Scottish consumers but even here teenagers were beginning to see it as something slightly old fashioned which children drank and you grew out of. Irn-Bru did not seem to have much street cred, what advertisers term "badge value", whether or not it would be cool to be seen drinking it in the streets. In England ,the Scottish image mostly worked against it. While the images of the major competitors seemed to stress a bright glossy, successful world, the world of Irn-Bru felt dull, grey and unsuccessful. Irn-Bru was also seen as being too young and biased towards boys and industrial images, such as girders and shipbuilding, did not seem aspirational in late eighties Britain.

Research showed that the kind of advertising that the teenage market most admired was humorous, often lager adverts, which was clever, quick-witted and satirical. Their favourite heroes were most often anti-establishment, cool and quirky like Eddie Murphy in Beverly Hills Cop, Crocodile Dundee or Indiana Jones.

Lowe Howard-Spink, Barr's advertising agency, decided on a strategy which would conspire with their audience against competitors, that would make Irn-Bru seem to be the anti-hero of the soft drinks world. They thought that they had a good chance of succeeding by developing qualities which already existed in the image, that of a tough, honest, no nonsense character in contrast to the plastic, over-hyped images of the brands around it. Although the Scottishness of the brand was undeniable, the agency decided that they should avoid an identifiable Scottish setting. The Scottishness should be at a level where people could find it if they wanted to but it should not be upfront. The slogan "Made in Scotland - from Girders" was to be left in but not explained. They were very sure that they did not want the "IRN" of the brand name linked with anything metallic. They wanted it to be interpreted as a character trait.

The campaign was concentrated on a television and cinema commercial, called by the agency "Up the IRNS", lasting sixty seconds with options for later cut-down thirty second versions. The agency and those working within Barr were taking a considerable chance by concentrating more or less the whole year's advertising budget on the success or failure of the commercial.

Initial storyboards for the ad are remarkably close to the finished product although there were changes made by the director. The final shot, for example, was initially meant to have the drinks machine punching the boy who gives it a "fonzie style wallop". In shooting this was changed to the head butt. Whether this was done for "aesthetic" or commercial reasons, an easier shot than the special effect originally required, it is this final shot, the punch line almost, that most viewers report liking best. And it seems such an inspired twist on a Scottish stereotype as to avoid all criticism.

Part of the fun of the ad lies in trying to identify some of the adverts it refers to. They seem to be mostly clothes adverts, like Levis, rather than those for the rival cola brands. British advertising rules do not allow direct comparisons and the agency were careful that there should be no identifiable references to Coke and Pepsi ads. Instead the pastiche is of a sub-genre of advertising typical of 1980s adverts to teenagers, a style which is common to clothing, tapes, records and even lager, which uses images of America, particularly retro fifties images, of a time when teenagers supposedly lived in a less troubled world when their identity was more secure and their future more certain.

The results of the campaign were excellent. "Spontaneous awareness" of the ad - that is unprompted reference to it in surveys - rose from 25% to 63% in Scotland and from 3% to 27% in London. Awareness was particularly strong in the targeted market, the 15 to 19 age group. Sales in the first month of advertising also showed increases. Up 24% on the year before in Scotland and up 34% in London on an admittedly low base level.

"Up the IRNS" achieved success in generating newspaper interest as well as a great deal of word of mouth publicity. People talked about it and told their friends to watch out for it. A less measurable indicator of its success was its cultural impact in Scotland where it was seen as a source of national and personal pride, "one in the eye" for the Yanks, and as something very Scottish.

In the North of England the earlier research showed that the image of Irn-Bru was very closely related to a stereotype of Scottish identity with interviewees mentioning "red hair" , "highlands, haggis, caber-tossing", "Glasgow, girders and ship building". It was seen as something either kitsch or carrying an identity of poverty and aggression. It also had links with old fashioned drinks such as Tizer, Vimto and Dandelion and Burdock. It was seen as something which you perhaps drank in childhood and moved away from to more "sophisticated" drinks such as alcohol and Coke. Against this background the new campaign made less impact than it did in either Scotland or the South of England. In London, Irn-Bru began to attract a cult status. It became an acceptable and even trendy drink among the dance orientated culture of young people. Researchers found that the image of Scotland did not work against the drink but that there was more acceptance of Scotland as a foreign and even slightly exotic country. Young people interviewed admired the values of independence and genuineness expressed in the ad and saw Irn-Bru as a bit unusual and maverick within the soft drinks world which they saw as global, manufactured and American dominated. Researchers found that the campaign had played a great part in shifting attitudes to Irn-Bru. The ad was greatly liked and thought to be hitting at an excellent target.

Within the advertising industry it was also greatly

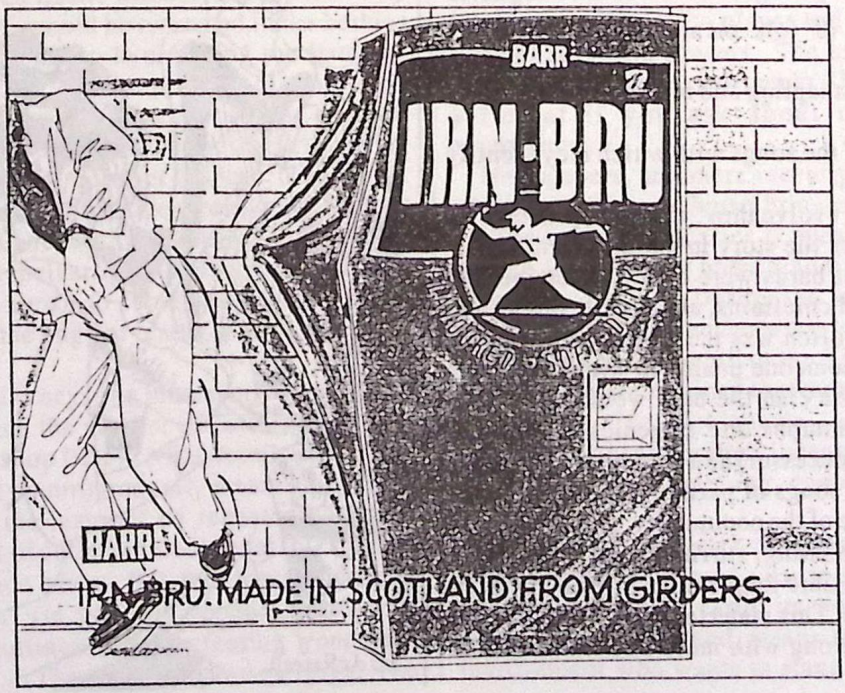
admired, winning the Silver Lion in the industry annual "Oscar" awards at Cannes. It also took the 1991 Creative Circle Gold award for the best directed commercial.

Consolidating their success, Lowe Howard-Spink, produced a follow up commercial called "Any old IRNS" and coverage was extended to more television regions. The second commercial is more specifically aimed at the kind of advertising which uses old rock stars to promote products. Research among teenagers had again shown that they were cynical about this style of advertising, although some, such as M.C. Hammer's Pepsi ad which showed a bit of humour, were more appreciated than others. The possibility of actually identifying some of the characters in the advert with actual pop stars did give the firm's lawyers some pause for thought. The words of the song were altered from their first draft version to avoid any possibility of a lawsuit and lookalikes were avoided in casting. (Incidentally, for those over thirty, the wild guitarist leaping around the stage is John Ottway).

A third commercial is now being shot and will be on our screens in Summer '93. While its style and content are top secret, Barr's promise it will surprise us.

In the company's glossy presentation brochure for 1992, the chairman, Robin Barr, looks to the future of the company in a new European market. The emphasis throughout the publication is on new technology, information systems to improve their distribution and sales. In their advertising, it is this commercial imperative which has shifted them from inward looking, stereotyped images towards a universality with a confident Scottish twist and perhaps it is those same external commercial and political forces which is shifting Scotland's culture into a more outward looking and self-confident mode.

• (The MEJ acknowledges with thanks the help of AG Barr in providing material for this article)



Irn Bru

Folk singing is not an area which most immediately springs to mind when we talk Media Education. The following three articles however collectively address music as a very powerful political and cultural medium.

Traditional Singing In Scotland

Alison Duncan is a singer, events organiser, a member of the TMSA and Folk enthusiast.

The indigenous arts of any country are of fundamental importance to the people of that country and are indivisibly linked to their sense of nationhood. Without reference to these foundations, any other art forms (whether described as 'higher' arts' or whatever) lack a foundation, and will exist rather than live in the hearts of the people. Therefore to have a healthy nation, in all forms of the arts, requires great attention to be paid to the traditional or indigenous arts of that nation.

Dr. John Barrow, The Scottish Review, 1983

The traditional music of Scotland is a cultural treasury, an inheritance which possibly has no equal in the world.

But what is folk, or traditional music?

Cecil Sharp selected the following elements to describe the process of tradition-bearing:

1) continuity of folk memory, linking past to present
2) variation - adapting and re-creating words and melodies
3) selection of the songs with which they identify

Songs and ballads evolve thro' the 'folk process' as each singer re-creates the story in another form.

In the distant past bards were essential retainers to the various kings and chieftains, along with pipers and harpers. (The bard often was the harper, and in some cases a blind man - someone unable to wield a sword.) As the historian of the clan the bard would recount in tale and song the triumphs and tragedies of the past (learned from his predecessor) and compose laments for the death of a chief, songs of parting, humorous songs of incidents in the life of the community, pawky jigs and reels to celebrate a wedding, stirring battle marches - a history in sound in a time long before printing or even writing was available. This material would be passed on to a son or novice, along with more ancient folk tales and classic ballads.

Religious and political turmoil during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries supplied a wealth of material for the balladmakers; with oral transmission and the bias of the originator their historical accuracy may be questioned, but they expressed the feelings of the people about an event or leader. Song was a medium to refine and define the expression of a nation.

Song was a medium to refine and define the expression of a nation.

Wendy de Russell

Your emotions have been switched off, and instead of being involved in the common human experiences as expressed by a ballad, you sit back and watch them cropping up predictably in a selection of soap operas

In 1700 more than half of Scotland's population of around one million lived in the Highlands. Very few people stayed in towns; the total number for Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh (the largest) was 68,000.

Most people made their living by farming, and lived in ferm touns or clachans. These settlements might be quite small - just the farmer's family, kitchie deem, dairymaid, two or three ploughmen and an orra boy - or as large as perhaps a hundred men, women and children in a clachan which sustained trades other than cultivation. A miller, a smith, a weaver and various others would have been found in this size of community, along with other traders who tho' based in the toun would travel farther afield plying their wares and skills - the chapman, the tailor, the tinsmith.The self-sufficiency of the community, its shared work and recreation time and its lack of literacy provided the ideal environment for narration, song and ballad singing to thrive. Those with a flair for composition would commemorate events from the life of the toun. The travelling tradesmen would bring news from other clachans, which would be incorporated into the tales and songs with which the community entertained itself. Ballads, passed down by generations of singers, would be recreated in the bothies and around the kitchen fires, hypnotising the listeners with the repetition of the familiar phrases, binding them together with the drama and emotion of their content. This was their escape from the reality of the struggle for survival and the long hard hours of labour. The muckle sangs are unforgettable, strong tales worn down to their bare bones by years of repetition. They give the singer the power to weave a spell around the listeners, building the anticipation of a horror to come, taking them to the depths of despair or the edge of tears for the sadness of the story.

The coming of literacy, the increasing availability of printed material and the number of collectors of folk tales and ballads (Bishop Percy, Allan Ramsay, Frances James Child and many more)gradually meant that you no longer had to learn the material by repeated hearings, you could buy a book of collected traditional folk ballads or a topical broadside poem. But this meant that you learned the 'correct' (ie printed) version, instead of remembering the outlines and re-creating your own version of the story. (The mother of James Hogg, The Ettrick Shepherd, told Sir Walter Scott that the songs he had collected from her had been made for singing, not reading; she feared that he had broken the charm and that they would be sung no more.)

The Industrial Revolution caused a vast shift in the population towards the towns. Glasgow grew to 33,000 by the 1750s, and 147,000 by 1821,with similar developments throughout the industrial areas. (Today only a fifth of the population dwells rurally). The flourishing of amateur music societies made classical and art music widely available to those who wished to 'better' themselves culturally, although the traditions were kept alive at home and in the country, particularly by the travelling people, those descendants of the dispossessed from the Clearances, the massacre of Glencoe and similar events, who to this day have kept the oral tradition alive. Back court buskers and street singers would earn their pennies singing the old songs, but their style came to be looked down upon and was no longer valued. The music hall and the concert party offered more attractive entertainment, and in more recent times popular Scottish culture has come to mean pawky comedians, trained tenors and sopranos singing arrangements of Burns songs to piano accompaniment, a kilted piano-accordion player and some young (usually female) Highland dancers. The local tourist office will direct you to a hotel or Summer Show offering just such a format if you ask about traditional Scottish entertainment.

Newspapers, and more recently radio, took the place of the travelling packman bringing tidings.

The radio broadcaster is speaking to you alone, an invited guest in your home who fits whatever image you may have of them. During the war families gathered round to share announcements, to hate Lord Haw Haw, to be stirred by Churchill or the King. In the early fifties, families were entertained together by Journey into Space, The Goons, The McFlannels - all ages still gathered around their hearth, albeit listening rather than actively joining in, but listening communally, sharing the experience.

But now we all watch the great seducer, television.

Its strength is it can take you to the heights of perfection and the ends of the earth; its weakness is that it raises your expectations and weans you away from active involvement who wants to stand in the rain at the local.

athletics club event when you could watch the Olympics in Spain from your own armchair?

The aim of television is to encourage people to stay tuned to their channel, not to go out, and do.

With modern television techniques we can witness wars and battles as they occur, with no danger to ourselves. Nothing is left to the imagination. Everyone has watched the same images, heard the same information - it is fixed forever as fact, so a ballad whose details altered with the telling would be inappropriate - we all know the truth!

However its main weakness is that television viewing is a solitary activity, even when done in company - your eyes are on the screen, not your family or friends as when you listen. You are cool, remote from the images presented to you, and if there is something too boring (politics, economics) or uncomfortable (starving Africans, Aids) you can always switch channels - you don't need to feel involved or responsible. Your emotions have been switched off, and instead of being involved in the common human experiences as expressed by a ballad, you sit back and watch them cropping up predictably in a selection of soap operas where the villains aren't actually all that bad, the most daunting problem is niftily solved in three easy episodes and no-one ever really dies, they just change names and stations

So where have the harping and piping, the fiddle playing and ballad singing gone? How could such a rich oral/aural culture disappear, or turn into a gaudy, tartan package to be wheeled out when bus parties drive up or Hogmanay looms?

Harping is in the main preserved and successfully promoted by the Clarsach Society.

Piping has long been nurtured by institutions like the College of Piping, the Lowlands and Borders Pipers' Society, the Pibroch Society, the Pipe Bands Association.

An Comunn Gaidhealach has toiled for many years to sustain interest in the Gaelic culture through its local branches and annual Mod. We are all aware of the massive injection into Gaelic broadcasting, tho' it is up to the Gaels to say whether this is being done in the best way.

Fiddle music has evolved into various playing styles - Shetland, Border, North East, West Highland - and there is an immense body of fiddle music available in collections which have been compiled over the years.

And the songs, what of the songs? Traditional singing can be heard in folk clubs and at festivals throughout the land, and particularly at events run by the Traditional Music and Song Association. Over the last few years the popularity of ceilidh bands has waxed at clubs and wedding dances.

Best of all are the sessions. There's the frisson of anticipation as the individuals begin to blend themselves into a community through contributing their own and joining in others' songs and music. All are equal and all join in the making of the entertainment, until the session becomes a living creation. No one knows what will come next, nothing is planned - it just flows on under its own momentum with songs arising when people feel moved to sing them. Each singer in turn holds sway, has power over the others' emotions.

The tradition is a treasury and the songs its currency. With a song you can contribute to causes, you can pay your way into any gathering - you are assured a welcome everywhere. The person with one song is as rich as the person with many, for each song is a wealth in its own right.

It has been suggested that modern society (modern media?) will soon cause folksinging as a spontaneous activity to be extinguished. It will not. It may retreat from the struggle to be heard above the plethora of noisy devices in pubs, or withdraw from competing with the slick entertainment expectations of a fast food society.But it will survive and adapt and live on, sustained by those people for whom it is the vital source without which their souls are barren and their hearts empty.

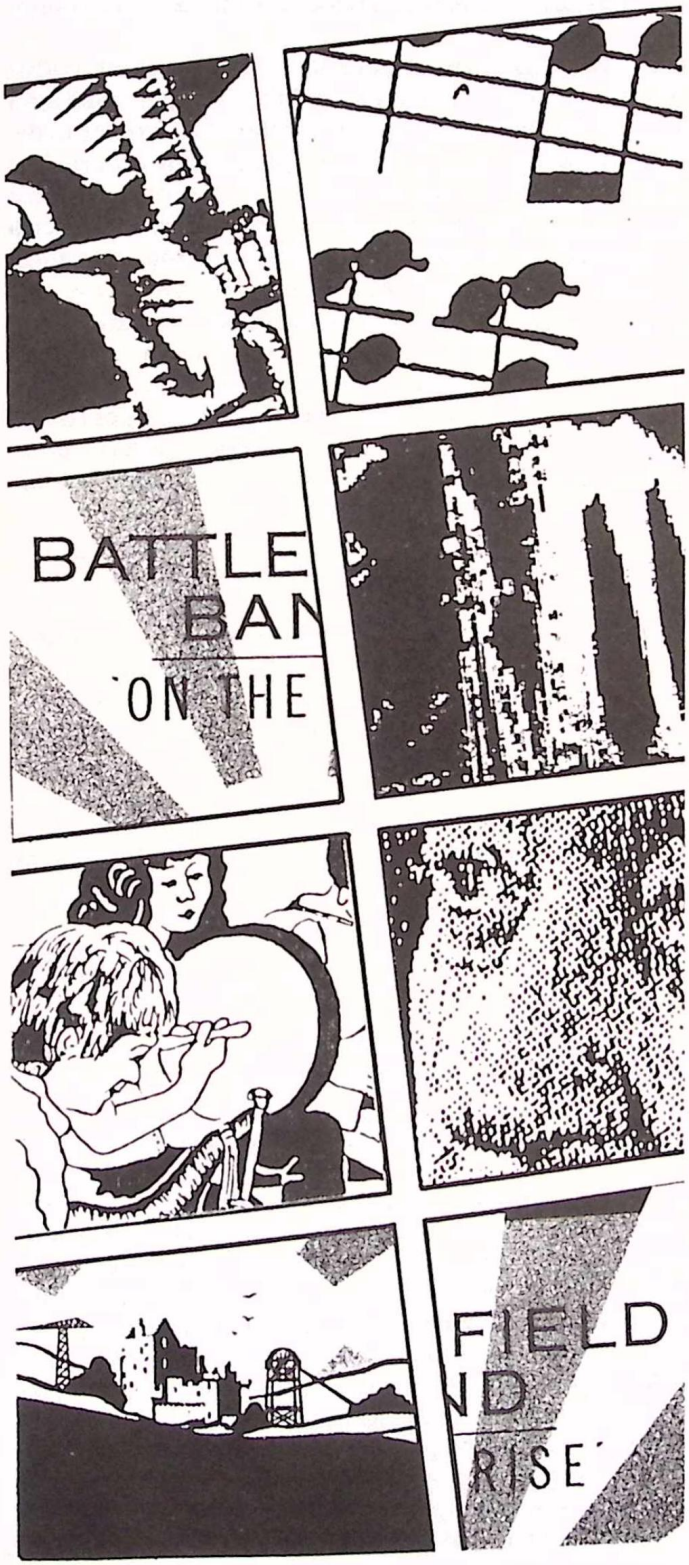
Radio, in particular Radio Scotland, offers a range of specialist music programmes and general items which feature folk and traditional material.

So why is it that this vibrant living tradition is so shoddily and shallowly treated by television? Despite the vast body of material accumulated over hundreds of years by many learned and respected collectors, from the Skene MS through Allan Ramsay, Robert Ford, Frances James Child and Gavin Greig to Bertrand Bronson and many others; despite the immense amount of work by the School of Scottish Studies at Edinburgh University, and despite the excellent Heritage of Scotland summer schools at Stirling University and their counterparts at sister establishments - Scottish Traditional Music lacks credibility in the narrow minds of the media decision-makers. That universities in other parts of the world offer degrees in Folklore Studies studying our cultural heritage as an important part of their courses, or that the RSAMD (Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama) is including Scottish Traditional Music and Ethnomusicology in its courses does not seem to have filtered through. They may have noticed the Honorary Doctorates awarded to Tom Anderson and Jean Redpath, or the inclusion in the Honours List of Belle Stewart, Jean Redpath (and - nearly - Hamish Henderson), but apart from a spot at the tail end of the news they seem disinterested. The Scottish Arts Council's inclusion of Traditional Music in its Charter for the Arts matter is irrelevant to them. They largely continue on their merry way, wheeling out the statutory folk-flavour-of-the-month package, having progressed little from the days of bales of straw and flickering fires.

The tradition bearers and music makers should be recorded for posterity as they are. This is not a pop video. This is our nation's heritage, its musical roots. Television has persuaded us out of the art of listening, and into having short attention-spans. The BBC and Scottish commercial stations have a duty to re-educate us and give us access to what remains of the traditions that were as they modify towards the new century. Not as a 'light entertainment' package, but documented as a record, unaltered. Use them to inform and educate. Nurture them, for they are the roots of our culture - do not prune or clip! The traditions will not die out, they have survived thus far and will continue. But their form will alter, as it has done since the beginning, and if current skills and technology cannot find find the way to capture the spirit of them as they are during this age then it will be a tragic waste of a resource. •

An Interview with Robin Morton

***Robin Morton** is the Manager of Battlefield Band, Owner of Temple Records and Founder Member of Boys of the Lough. He has directed the Edinburgh Folk Festival for 3 years .*



Question Can you tell me a bit about your career in order to put your views on the Scottish folk scene in context?

RM I'm Irish, from Northern Ireland. I started off as teacher of mentally handicapped people, and then I went to university to study social work. While I was there, I started the folk club at Queens. At that time I used to play trumpet or cornet in a brass band and I was interested in jazz, and like many youngsters my age, my interest in folk song came from an interest in jazz. It went from that to American folk songs and American folk music and then from that to realise that American music had Scottish and Irish music in it, and so I came back to look at my own tradition in Ireland. I then went to London to study psychiatric social work, and in London discovered Ewen MacColl's songs. I got involved with MacColl and Peggy Seeger and was fascinated with that music and that sound. I had met a few Irish musicians that MacColl used to bring over like Paddy Tunney and Gabe Sullivan who was a flute player. Then I returned to Belfast and started up a Folk Club in the city, and on Ewen's advice began to look for songs.

Question In English or Gaelic?

RM In English, there wasn't much Gaelic sung up in the North of Ireland, at least as far as I knew. There was a kind of new generation of young people who came along and we weren't academics in folk songs. We just wanted to hear them sung, and we were collecting songs and meeting old people and trying to sing the songs, A lot of the previous generation of collectors weren't letting the songs out. They were keeping them to themselves. But I did collect enough to publish a couple of books. One was called rather grandly 'Folk Songs Sung In Ulster' and was just a wee paper back. Then I did another book which I was really proud of and still am, called 'Come Day, Go Day God Send Sunday', which is the life story of a singer I met down in County Fermanagh, a man called John Maguire who was a wonderful singer. By this stage I had gone back to university and had done a degree in Economic History, and I was coming here to do a Ph.D. in Scotland. In the mean time MacColl and Peggy Seeger organised some gigs for Cathal McConnell, Tommy Gunn and myself and we became Boys of the Lough for a gig up in Aberdeen. The gigs increased and we got offered record

contracts and so on. Meantime I was doing a Ph.D., or not doing a Ph.D. as the case may be, in Edinburgh here. It got to the point where the band was offered so much work that we had to decide. Cathal and I were semi-pros and the other two guys, Dick Gaughan and Ally Bain, were pros, and it just wasn't fair. We had to decide whether to go full time or to give it up. So I went on the road for ten years with Boys of the Lough and made a living. Twenty five percent of it was good and the rest hard graft. At the same time I began to produce records for Topic Records in London. On leaving the band, and with the demistifying of technology in the 80s and 90s, I set up my own recording studio in Bonnyrigg. The technology may not be the greatest technology, although it was a lot better than the Beatles worked with, but I think you can overcome its weaknesses by investing an awful lot of energy and commitment. I think the same thing is happening with video today. The BBC will do something and the picture will be perfect but the whole thing is rubbish, and there is a hell of a lot of other people doing committed programmes or committed videos, which the BBC engineer will turn his nose up at. What is important is that the content is good and the media in this country really have to listen. I am very critical of the

... the stage Scotsman still exists. The stage Irishman doesn't, at least not to the same excruciating extent.

media, and rather despairing of them, but at the same time I have some sympathy for them. It is a bit tough if you have to turn out programme after programme. I'm not sure how you can keep your energy up for that. That's one of the big questions that have to be answered by the media themselves. How do you keep the producers of these programmes fresh? At times I tear out my hair at the image that Scotland is given on the media. I mean the stage Scotsman still exists. The stage Irishman doesn't, at least not to the same excruciating extent.

Question How do you see folk music developing?

RM When I first started Temple Records there was Waverley Records putting out Jimmy Shand dance music, which in fact I have grown to love anyway, but at that time I was rather snobby about it. It wasn't really folk music. It was put out by EMI and Topic Records themselves wasn't really interested. They were interested in revival singers and revival musicians. So, at the time in the early 70s you looked around and you thought the traditional music was going to die out. That didn't happen. The music now is amazing. There are the Irish musicians that came up in the 70s, the Scottish musicians that came up in the 80s. And all these other great musicians came out of the woodwork and youngsters were playing like there was no tomorrow. The whole thing was just amazing. Music being played and still is being played, and still being developed.

Question And the songs they sing - do they belong to a past culture or to someone else's culture?

RM Both really because old songs have relevance today. Tradition to me is not something that is dead. It's a living dynamic process.

Question Can you compare the situation in Scotland with the development of music in Ireland?

RM What has happened to Ireland in the south is that they have been independent and that's made a hell of a difference. But it's also made a hell of a difference to the north as well you see. I think that when I started to collect songs there was a kind of an unwritten rule that there was no good music, and no good songs, in the north because it's the black north and it's the Protestant north and they are not really into culture. In fact all the best songs come out of the bloody north. I'll argue that out with anybody. There's amazing singers up the north and some great music. You see the north is separate as well. Although it begs allegiance to the crown it's not really. They see themselves as separate. You just have to go down Sandy Row on the eleventh night, to see the anti-Establishment feeling down there.

Question You think it's too anglified here?

RM No, I think you are not separate, but I think that Scots are becoming very aware of their own identity and I don't think the media is. We did a concert in the Usher Hall, involving all kinds of Scottish music. We had Lowland pipes. We had bagpipe bands. We had harpers. We had fiddle orchestras and so on and people were coming up and saying "I didn't know there was music like this in Scotland". At the end of the night we sang "The Freedom Come All Ye", people actually stood up.

Question Do you think the music itself is a catalyst, or one of the catalysts, in this changing mood of Scotland?

RM I'm not sure, if it's a catalyst. It's both leading and being led. It shouldn't be didactic.

Question Could it be a catalyst accidentally?

RM Aye, I think the two things go hand in hand. It's acting as a catalyst but there's more and more young people coming to it and listening and saying that sounds great. I mean one of the things I've said for a long time is that one of the reasons so many good pop bands come out of Scotland, is that there is such a strong music tradition in Scotland. There are pipe bands marching up and down the street. There's the Billy Connolly singers in the pub and at the parties, and the old songs are being sung, and even I suppose Bill McCue singing Scottish songs. The music is here. It's in the Scottish people and although Wet Wet Wet doesn't know it, the reason they

are actually doing what they are doing is because they come from Scotland. In Ireland the barriers have broken down between the types of music, and so the rockers have come in and they are mixing with the folkies, and the folkies are mixing with the jazzers and the classical musicians are beginning to appreciate that they are not the cream of the earth and that maybe Joe Heaney had something to say and he wasn't just a "noble savage". That hasn't happened so much here. There's been attempts at breaking down the barriers but I don't think they have been that successful and they have been rather kind of self-conscious. In Ireland you really do get the feeling that those barriers really have broken down.

Question Do you know any reasons why that may be?

RM I think again that there is a general lack of security maybe. That permeates everything really.

Question Tied to the political impotence?

RM Yes. It's part of the same thing. Slowly and surely the barriers are breaking, but I think there is a kind of insecurity and a feeling of not being willing to have a go, you know, an attitude that says, "I really don't want to look like a fool!" I'm not particularly nationalistic but I think that really they should take the opportunity to try it. Even if this tartan crowd does take over and start to misuse power in exactly the same way as the Eton crowd does, it can't be any worse. It would be too easy to say "Let's not have a separate Scotland because there's going to be no difference in the people who are going to run the country". Maybe you've got a better chance of controlling it and there might be a new spirit of idealism come through, and it would certainly do a hell of a lot for the self-confidence of the Scots.

Question Returning to folk music, what happens if it becomes a multi-million dollar industry?

RM Great. We all make a lot of money, that's wonderful. I mean, all those people should be making a living. It's hard out there. I'm an entrepreneur, but if I was a real entrepreneur I wouldn't be doing it in this music. I would love Dougie McLean to have a hit, I think it would be great and I'm very pleased that Rungig are doing well. It's not my favourite kind of music but they are out there doing it, and making more than a living. I would love to put Battlefield Band in the hit parade if I could do it. One of the reasons I won't of course is because the band will, quite rightly, only go so far to play that game. There's certain "show business" things you have to do, if you are going out there to entertain an audience. I was once asked to produce a "noble savage" to sing in a folk programme in Belfast and I asked John Maguire. He had a blue serge suit, and a cap on his knee because that's the way he was. You'll not be surprised to hear they filmed him in a set sitting in front of a turf fire. John sat down, I remember the song he sang 'The Bonny Wee Lassie That Never Said No' and he started to sing. This wee grey haired man started to sing in a big, big auditorium. I mean a really big place and this boy is putting up lights and banging up stages for the Dubliners. This is all going on and as John started singing, the whole place became quiet. It was astounding. There were boys hanging on ladders with their mouths open, as John was telling them this story. There was an amazing and spontaneous burst of applause afterwards because John had done what he does, and he was a great performer, and he had got over to these people these blasé media folk. A star was born. But he never appeared on television again, ever. How can these people not understand that sort of thing? They went away and they still had the patronising attitude "how quaint".

The whole point about Scotland is there is a great deal of talent here, a great deal that is wasted and squandered, and is mainly squandered and wasted by its own people.

Question If you could do what you like with the media, and with the folk scene, and the recording industry what would you choose?

RM The whole point about Scotland is there is a great deal of talent here, a great deal that is wasted and squandered and is mainly squandered, and wasted by its own people. The amount of Scottish bands that have to leave the country! That's not only in folk music but in jazz and classical music, even probably, in pop music that have to get out of here to make a living. But commitment is really the important thing and I think you can forgive a hell of a lot if the people are committed and they are actually willing to carry that commitment through. I think the real problem is that there is a lack of that commitment. But it's changing. It is changing. There's no doubt you can feel it changing. You feel people being kind of strong and you know it's beginning to happen. The whole European thing you know the way it's going. There's a big feeling for change and there is going to be change. I'm a great believer in change anyway just for its own sake. So anybody who looks on someone who is interested in folk music as an old fogie just doesn't understand. Traditional music is a living thing. That's the whole point about it. It's alive, and its continuity. There's a commonness about it. Hamish Henderson is the man for me. Hamish is an academic at the same time a man of the people. The man is a genius, a wonderful renaissance man. Really the whole kind of epitome of what is great in Scotland is a man like Hamish. With his great sort of humanity and his desire to change things and yet to hearken back to the old Gaelic songs and forward to a whole new vision, is what is needed in Scotland and I think it is happening. There are exciting things happening. Maybe more of us should get out there and be involved in it. But sometimes you just want to sit at home and watch television. God help us, another quiz programme! •

Community Singing

***Calum MacDonald** is the songwriter and founder member of Runrig, an internationally known Scottish based rock band which draws from Gaelic music.*

Runrig

Music is the mirror of the people, a thermometer of cultural confidence. You sing in sorrow, you sing in joy. Music is the hormone of the spirit.

The year is 1978, and the Run-Rig Dance Band is about to boldly go where no other band has gone before on the Highlands and Islands summer dance circuit. The venue is the Skye Gathering Hall in Portree, one of the principal towns in the Scottish Gaidhealtachd. Dances were still about community then, society was still about community, and all of this a mere decade before the Blessed Margaret delivered her sermon on the Mound, telling us that society does not exist.

Now there may or may not be such a thing as society anymore, but one thing is certain. Community dances in the west coast village halls are all but gone. The irony for us was that we precipitated that change in our community by seeking to preserve something more fundamental to it. By the early seventies disco was beginning to step out of the shadows and darken the halls. The psychedelic flash of Hendrix was replacing the full resplendent glare of eightsome reel and raffle. That night in the Gathering Hall we decided to cultivate ambition and sing our own songs, about our own people, in our own language. We threw away the habits of many summers, and the diet of tunes the audience felt safe with; the odd Corries song, the rock and roll medleys, the quicksteps, the stuff of weddings, the stuff of Friday nights. It took us a long time to have the confidence to do it. It was obviously going to take our audience considerably longer to stay and listen. The reaction was vociferous in its negativity. I still think that it said more about the Gaelic community in a West Highland village of the time, than it did about our own output.

"Language and culture don't die," said Dr John MacInnes. "They are killed by the processes of history, and the processes of history involve the deeds of human beings, whether intentional or not."

My generation suffered more than most from the hangover of the Disarming Act of 1747, and the many subsequent acts of cultural annihilation.

Growing up on Skye in the sixties and seventies was to grow up in a community that sat uncomfortable with its indigenous language. Living in Scotland in the nineties is to live in a country unsure of its national identity, and how to express it. As a young student in Glasgow in 1971, I was very much a product of that attitude, trying hard to both fight it and embrace it. I was not, at that point aware of my history, or of the worth of my culture. I grew up with the scars and frustrations of Establishment dictate on my language.

It now seems ludicrous for instance, that Highland Regional Council at that time, fought tooth and nail to halt a desire to erect Gaelic road signs, putting forward a bizarre case that bi-lingual signposts would lead to a rise in the road accident statistics.

A friend of mine remembers vividly a poignant childhood scenario. A black Morris Oxford arrives at his grandmother's croft. Two policemen get out to break the news of her brother's death, the dispatch coming in the tongue of the Establishment when the tongue of comfort, familiarity, and compassion was denied. A small point, but Scotland in microcosm nevertheless.

For me language was only the starting point on a continuum of alienation and neglect. We still had centuries to pass before we reached such modern milestones as Poll Tax and the threat of water privatisation.

Our own musical journey through the last two decades have given us an opportune window to view changing attitudes and cultural re-awakening. Music is the mirror of the people, a thermometer of cultural confidence. You sing in sorrow, you sing in joy. Music is the hormone of the spirit. It is now the nineties, and Runrig are still the same entity. We are still the same fish, only the pond is bigger. The village is a nation, the community international, but the song very definitely remains the same.

Musical tradition, like folk songs, can be presented in two ways. Firstly it can be with an attitude firmly embedded in the past where it is safe, and where it does not threaten or inspire, but languish in a sepia state gathering the dust of romanticism, a condition getting dangerously close to the caricature we all know so well. Alternatively, the tradition can be presented with positive relevance to any age, either in its original musical clothing, or by embracing and incorporating new influences. The later is what we have attempted with Runrig.

There is no sphere, politically, spiritually, or otherwise where we can meaningfully go forward without knowing who we are, and where we've come from. Music is no exception.

My view of Scotland has always been from the north downwards. First there was Gaelic, first there was community, then there was the huge wilderness of emptiness and beauty before you reached Anniesland Cross and population. Glasgow to me was a foreign country, and when I got there I found that I was not the only one with a confused national identity crisis. The Glaswegian's Scotland was by and large Central Belt, (except Edinburgh of course) and north of Anniesland Cross was good for hillwalking. As for Gaelic, it was quite understandably, as irrelevant to the Glaswegian as the Parkhead jungle was to me.

Things have certainly change these last few years. In the case of Gaelic, things could not be more positive, and developments from bi-lingual and Gaelic medium education, to a nine million pound television injection will push the profile of the language to the forefront of national consciousness. There it will either be accepted or rejected, but I hope that non Gaels recognise that here is something that belongs to us all, and like so many aspects of heritage, must be retained.

For Runrig, a lot has changed these last thirteen years from 1978 to 1991 and to a concert we shared with 50,000 people on the shores of Loch Lomond. It was not so much that barriers had fallen for us within a music industry that could not previously accept something as (in their view) intrinsically parochial becoming national, far less international. In Scotland by 1991 our audience had grown considerably, and the people have taken on a new confidence, and awareness, and despite what Billy Connelly says, it was right to wear the badge of identity, it's good to know yourself, it's good to sing, it's good to share.

There is a dilemma, possible a phobia, that nationalism can not square with the great socialist vision of international brotherhood. You must not look inward, but outwards. Nowhere could there have been a more pertinent stage to view that dilemma than in Estonia where we performed last summer. When you cannot look in any direction anymore, and when you have nothing left, all you have and all you can be is yourself.

I will never forget the young girl at a concert in Germany, asking us if we fully realised what a privilege it was to express our national culture.

I will never forget the young girl at a concert in Germany, asking us if we fully realised what a privilege it was to express our national culture. She could not do that with the Germany she belonged to, because of the shame she felt for recent history. She was glad to share ours, and it gave her a sense of belonging and spiritual uplift. There is no shame in telling the world who you are.

Now expressing national culture is the very last thing we thought about ourselves, but people insist on sticking that label on us. We certainly sing about place because it is important to us, and only because it is completely natural for us to do so.

I do not know what caused the mood of the Scottish people to change so much, (Margaret Thatcher was certainly a major catalyst in making us have a good look at ourselves). But by 1991 the change was very apparent, from our window at any rate. There was a potent moment when the heather was truly on fire and it wasn't about politics, it was all about spirit and it was about belonging. By the 9th of April 1992, the national rains had fallen again, the heath fires reduced overnight to a smoulder, but we will not be going back to sing "Flower of Scotland" in the village halls. •

Listen and Learn

Another traditional folk form in Scotland is storytelling. The tales still told by the travelling people, in the past referred to as Tinkers, deal with and rework the concerns of the people who told them. They are a rich source of a country's culture. Although in decline because of entertainment shifting from the hearth to the television, travelling storytellers are still popular in Scotland.

*Here **Duncan Williamson**, one of Scotland's travelling people, born in 1928 on the Shores of Loch Fyne, talks about the place storytelling has had in his life.*

School to me didn't mean very much when I was a child back in the early 1930s, because as travelling people we were very poor. We didn't have radio or television. Mother and father could not read. They had no need to read, because our education came through stories and songs. You gathered round the camp fire in the late evenings and you were told stories that would last you through your life. They were never written down in any books. Some were very old, having been passed down by word of mouth through hundreds of generations.

Stories were told to you as a matter of teaching. Because every particular story had its own lesson. Oh, there were many wonderful tales. There were tales for the small ones about animals, there were ghost tales, tales of witches, spirits, bogles, giants, ogres. Tales of farmers. Tales of everything that would teach you to grow up naturally in your own environment in life. Now my father would say, 'Sit down there and listen carefully. Because by listening to this story you're going to learn something that will teach you in life. And remember, carry the story with you all of your days. Because this story was told to me by my father.' And that's why stories were so important to the travelling people. Even around Christmas time.

Father would say, 'Well, thank God this is Christmas Eve. Come doon beside me and I'll tell you a story. Now remember, children, any toy I could buy — what's the sense of buying you a toy when you'll only break it! It'll be destroyed in a couple of days. Even if I had the money to afford it. But this story will last you the entire time of your life.'

My father told me a story when I was only five years old. Now that's almost exactly sixty years ago. And i can remember that tale the way he told it to me, just the

Duncan Williamson with a group of Edinburgh schoolchildren

The old travellers knew in their own mind that they were leaving something behind, a treasure that we could treasure their memory by.

very way. I can visualise him sitting there by the fireside, a young man putting coals in his pipe, you know, smoking his pipe. and all the little kids gathered round the fire, he siting there telling them a beautiful Christmas tale. Which was far better to us now when I look back than anything he could have bought for us.

And the old travellers knew in their own mind that they were also leaving something behind, a treasure that we could treasure their memory by. I mean, travelling people don't need to go when their old people die, buy a great granite tombstone and put it in a graveyard to remember them by. They didn't need that. They had things that were more important; the beautiful stories told to them. And the moment they told that story over again, they could picture in their mind their father, their mother, their granny, their uncle who had told them the great story. The photo, the picture in their mind would never die as long as the stories remained with them. and that's what the old people left with us. Because they knew the same thing had happened to them when they were young. and that's what made storytelling so wonderful.

When we walked on the roads on the cold winter's day and we were wet and tired and hungry, you know, travelling on, each carrying a part of our little bundle on our way to help us when we got to a camping place at night — we were miserable and tired. But once the tents were up, the fires were kindling, we had a little to eat, got ourselves dried, then it was story time. the thought of everything else, the day's torture was gone till the next time again. After a good storytelling session everybody was happy. You know, it was great, magical! I've got many wonderful memories of my childhood. Life was really hard. Life was rough and we were very poor. But we were very happy, really happy as children.

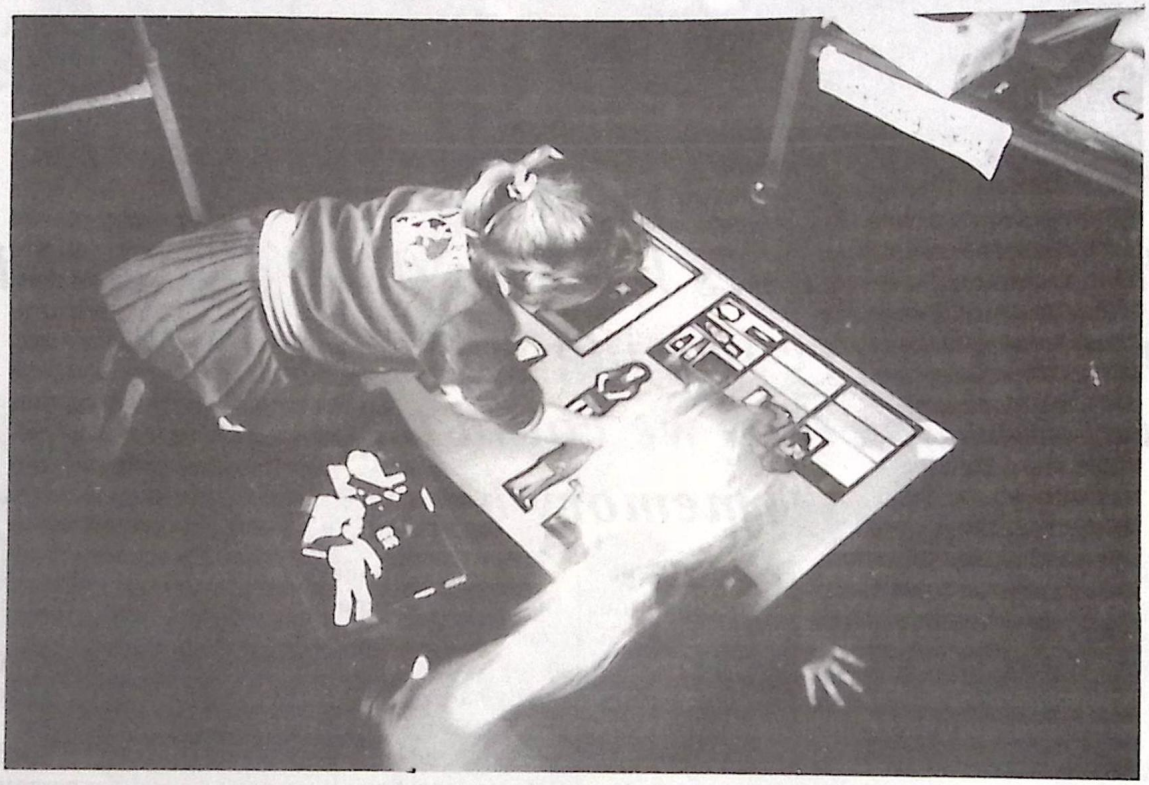
I think the happiness comes from the love and respect from parents to children and children for parents. That's the most important thing in all, what really makes life happy for anyone I would say. And that's what our stories were told us for in the first beginning.

• Duncan Williamson is one of Scotland's Travelling people, born in 1928 on the shores of Loch Fine. Eight collections of his traditional Scottish stories have been published by Penguin, Cambridge University Press, Canongate, Crown and Mondadori. Under the auspices of the Scottish Arts Council he visits schools and libraries to pass on his great wealth of international tales and songs in storytelling sessions for all ages. For further information and bookings, contact:

Writers and Storytellers, Falfield Bank, Peat Inn, Cupar, Fife
KY15 5LL; tel: 033484 474.

Classroom Practice

This section of the Journal contains educationally based articles. Robbie Robertson's article, A Six Second History, sets the context of Media Education in Scotland within which the other articles show the range and depth of our development.



Media Education in Scotland: *A six second history*

***Robbie Robertson** is Assistant Director of the Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum .*

The curriculum is made not from words written on paper, but from behaviours (*including* words and writings) expressed in relationships motivated by, and inscribed with, ideological constructs and forces. These forces are usually expressed as sets of overlapping needs often labelled *economic*, *social*, *educational*, *political*, *institutional*, *cultural*, and so on. In accounting for the curriculum it is more apposite on the whole to examine the forces rather than the labels, to explore how needs are constructed by what rather than by whom, to emphasise the things that were and are done rather than the intentions, while simultaneously examining the nature and functions of their significations.

The complex of *behaviours*, therefore, that gave rise to and define the media

education project in Scotland, although they constitute a central history, clearly defies summary. This note can only offer an attenuated version of essentially bureaucratic responses.

The current form of media education (setting the Leavisite approach to one side) emerged in Britain in the sixties and seventies out of a sense that the curriculum was not dealing with the multiplicity of "new" forms of texts that had appeared. It was, for example, recognised that television, film, radio and the press were necessary objects of study since they refracted rather than reflected key ideas, processes and values; that the nature of such media refractions within culture, and their power - over children in particular - required to be addressed; that audience and media content were intertwined; that the mass media supplied pleasures worthy of exploration and development; and that the tendency of the curriculum to be preoccupied with high culture at worst denigrated, at best did not relate to, the everyday experiences of pupils - and their parents.

This analysis exposed what some felt to be the regressive, conservative nature of the curriculum. Deficiencies were exposed: to shifts in life-style driven by apparently unceasing waves of technological innovation; to the needs of children growing up to be citizens in an information-saturated society; and to an emerging critical agenda which seemed more capable of dealing with modern culture than traditional approaches. An educational response was needed.

In Scotland, the publication in 1979 of the **Media Education: outline proposals for a curriculum**, inspired by the Scottish Film Council (SFC), provided that reponse. The document also provided support to those teachers in secondary and tertiary education already developing a curriculum for media studies/education by presenting a case which curriculum providers and developers were required to consider. At the same time, this on-going work by teachers also legitimised **Media Education** by offering evidence to sustain its conclusions. The significance of teachers as an innovative pressure group is a persistent feature of the evolution of media education in Scotland.

The date of publication was well-chosen since the coming decade was characterised by profound changes within the Scottish curriculum across the age-range from 5 to 18. The need for these changes was broadly endorsed by an allignment of politicians in all parties, the civil service, employers, and educators - including, and far from least significant, the inspectorate.

The SFC document was also a response to the publication of the Munn (curriculum) and Dunning (assessment) Reports in the late seventies and the eventual appearance of a new certificate, Standard Grade. The need to develop this certification gave opportunities for curricular reviews of the education of pupils aged 15 and 16 in the final two years of compulsory education within what some felt to be a limiting framework of Foundation, General and Credit courses, and a certification-for-all policy using a form of criterion referenced assessment that included the school-based assessment of coursework.

Perhaps of most direct significance for media education were the short courses (40 or 80 hours) advocated by Munn. These were devised and assessed within schools in a range of areas and concerns, a development financed in the early eighties by government. Reviews of the very few piloted media education courses corroborated that the study of the mass media provided, among other things, powerful sites for cross-curricular learning, were relatively easy to assess, and teaching was eased because the course content was congenial to a pupil cohort often disenchanted by more traditional forms of curricular provision.

The adoption in 1983 of radical proposals (the 16-18 Action Plan) to modularise the

curriculum for those students often not pursuing academic courses in colleges and schools gave media education a further opportunity for growth with the government-funded TVEI as a significant catalyst. An initial module (devised and promoted by a largely teacher group, chaired by an HMI) was developed, was successful and there are now some seventeen modules constituting a coherent grouping covering a range of print, audio and visual media, their production as well as consumption, and the socio-economic constructions within which they operate.

1983 was, in fact, a key year. The Scottish Education Department also gave funding for two significant initiatives in media education: a three year research project to consider matters such as content, pedagogy, organisation, management and implementation, and a development officer, located within the SFC, with the central remit of promoting and developing media education in schools and colleges. These forms of recognition from the centre were supported by the growing involvement in media education of local authorities, and agencies such as the (then) Consultative Council on the Curriculum and the Scottish Examination Board.

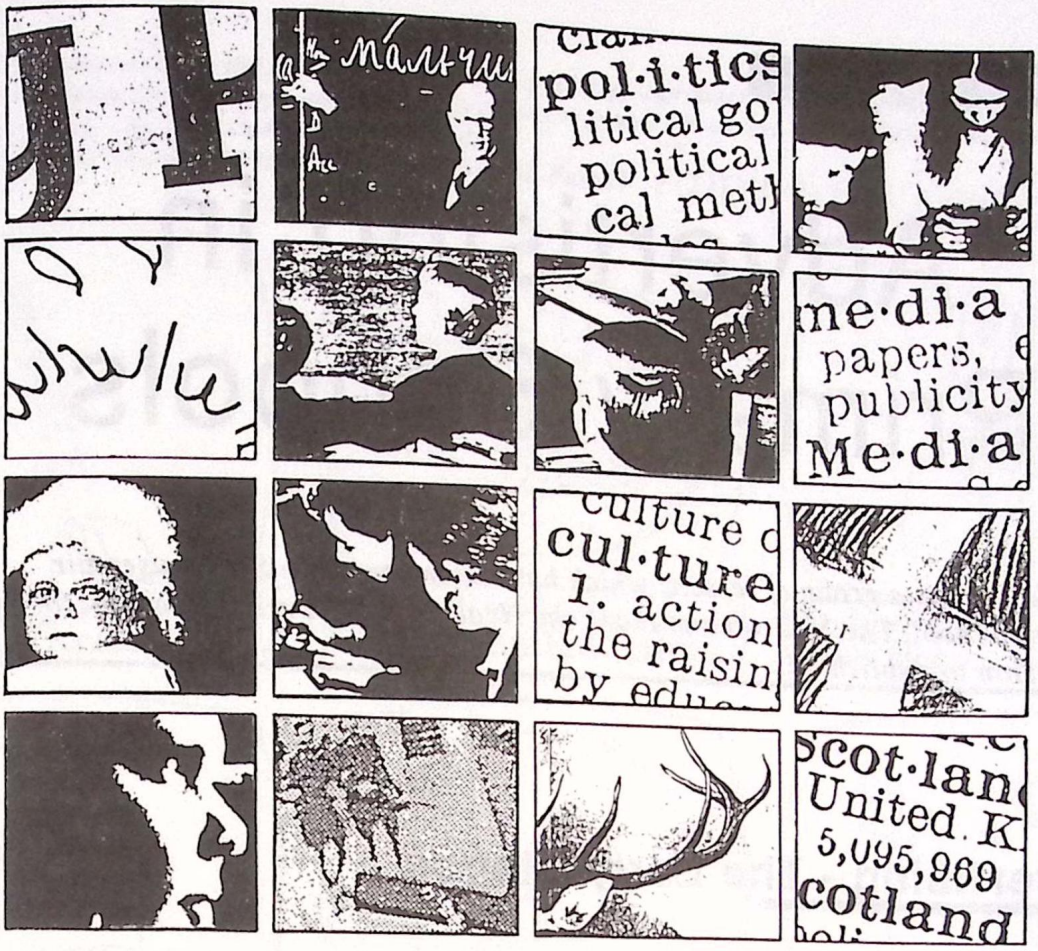
Again in 1983, following a series of regional conferences organised by the SFC, a national association of teachers, and others, concerned with media education was formed. This body, the Association for Media Education in Scotland (AMES), was and continues to be highly influential in promoting media education at national and local levels.

Although the new courses at Standard Grade represented a significant increase in the responsibility of schools for courses and assessment, it was felt that this was not being matched by centrally-provided resources either for staff training or materials development. As a consequence, teachers took action, and boycotted the examination structure. Subsequent conciliatory approaches (from both sides) allowed the revision of courses and examinations and the provision of centrally-funded materials. In some courses, therefore, including Standard Grade English, a few materials were provided on media education.

Knock-on effects from the new Standard Grade curriculum required the revision of arrangements for Higher Grade courses and examinations - the gateways to universities, and some other forms of tertiary education. Since the majority of teachers involved in media education in the secondary sector are within the ambit of English the new arrangements for this subject offered the study of the mass media as an option. Related options were established in the Certificate of Sixth Year Studies for English. Subsequently, extended advice was offered by regional and national authorities on matters such as the study of film.

Issues relating to the awkward interface between the primary and secondary sectors have led through the early nineties to the publication of national guidelines from the Scottish Office Education Department on curriculum and assessment for pupils aged 5 - 14. Initially released as consultative documents, developed by the Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum, they have been broadly endorsed and are being put into effect particularly by primary schools.

A number of curricular areas in 5 - 14 recognise the contribution of media education. In English Language, for example, Watching is included as an aspect of Listening and as part of the assessment process which, for all areas, uses a framework of criterion referenced targets to be achieved by most pupils at designated ages in key aspects of each curricular area. There is also a formal recognition that the nature of the texts being used within English Language teaching and assessment may include visual forms of communication such as still and moving pictures, and that set designs, music, camera



positions, and so on, are suppliers of meanings. Media education is, therefore, in place for the first time as a central feature of curriculum and assessment.

Unlike Nationa;l Curriculum provision in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, however, the guidelines are non-statutory and are realised through consensus. This has been attained and individual authorities and schools are developing and implementing the guidelines in the ways and the order they consider most appropriate.

The local authorities are also showing increasing interest in media education. Over the years, the Scottish Film Council has been the largest provider of classroom materials to allow teachers to teach the mass media from a Scottish perspective. Now, in association with local authorities, a large package of materials is being developed by the SFC (and is currently being trialled) to give teachers access to the media education aspects of the 5 - 14 curriculum. Early responses from schools are enthusiastic.

Change is on-going. Proposals for the further revision of the course and examination structures of post-compulsory education (the Howie Report) are at present being considered. The study of the mass media appears as an element within an illustrative appendix on English. The value of media education is also recognised in a recent SOED publication on effective teaching and learning in English.

There is, manifestly, continuing support for the inclusion of media education within the curriculum. Colleges of education are now providing (some more than others) pre-service and in-service courses, the latter leading to certificates or diplomas in the area. Degree courses at tertiary level are massively over-subscribed.

But much remains to be achieved. Frameworks are in place but at a time of shrinking resources, and lowering morale, the health and continuing survival of media education will depend on a *national* sense of its value and function within the curriculum - and the will of all teachers to provide it. The sense is clearly there, but whether it is truly national remains to be demonstrated. The will has yet to be tested.•

Advertising in Primary Schools

What follows is a group of lessons which have been taught in Stenhousemuir Primary School. The MEJ wish to thank the Headteacher, ***Evelyn Crosbie****, for her permission to publish this.*

Advertising - The Early Stages

I Context Environmental Education - Theme Work **Shopping**

From a general discussion with children, the subject of buying what we need and buying what we would like should arise.

Aims:
To identify category - advert.
To identify the purpose of adverts.
To identify audience.
To identify codes / conventions which make it memorable.

Objectives
That the children will differentiate adverts from other media forms.
That they will be able to name the type of product being advertised.
That they will be able to match adverts to broad bands of audience.
That they appreciate the use of jingles/catchphrases make adverts memorable and more likely to influence our choice when shopping.

Development (Four phases)

1 Using a selection of adverts and snips from these other television categories discuss what kind of televisions this is a film/a cartoon/an advert/ the news

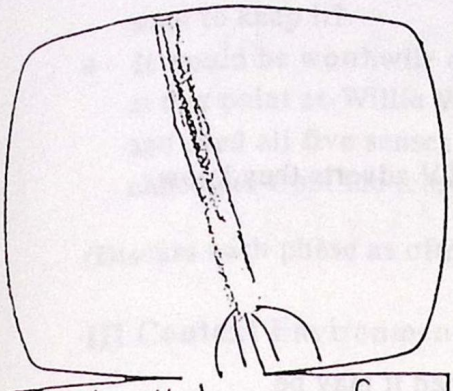
a) Find the advert. Make simple choice advert/not an advert.
Use coloured counters in a tub to record - **red** (ads) **blue** (others)
b) Sort into sets. Record how many in each category.
(If children are at that level - ie They can readily identify all four types)

scott

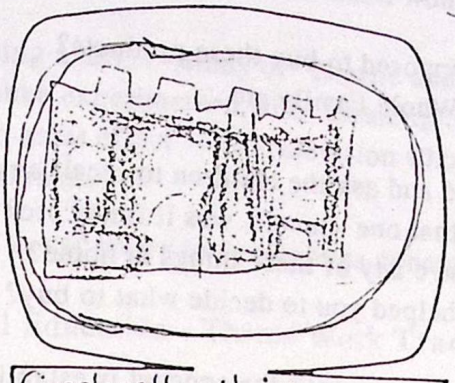
As part of the pilot work on the SFC's "Main Street" package, a primary 2 pupil produced the work below. The activity was from Main Street Shops, and the children had to plan a TV advert. The children chose their own story theme and produced, and then storyboarded the ad.

Thanks to Wilma Shanks of Victoria Primary School, Falkirk

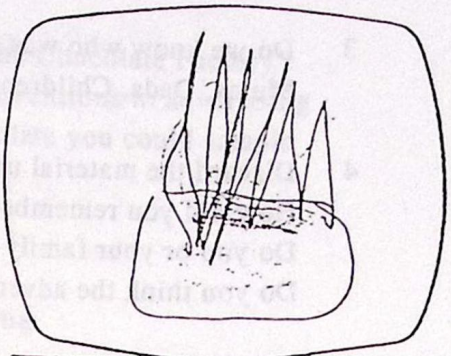
Fairy tale hand cream



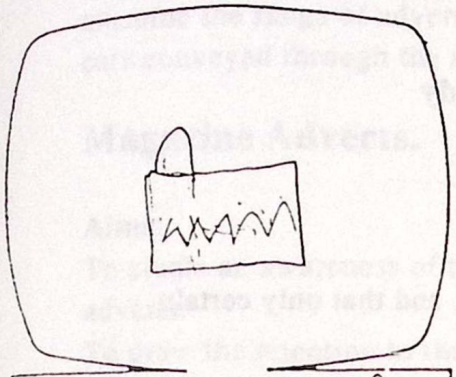
Cinderella's mop for cleaning floor



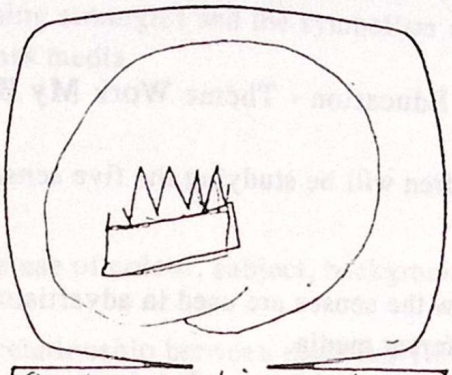
Cinderella thinks about the prince in his castle



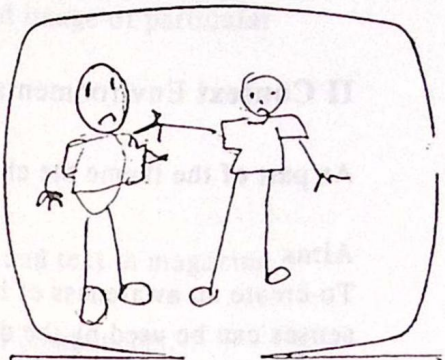
Cinderella has to clean the fire



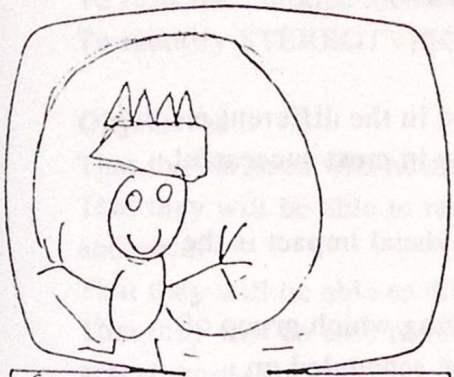
She needs cream for her sore hands.



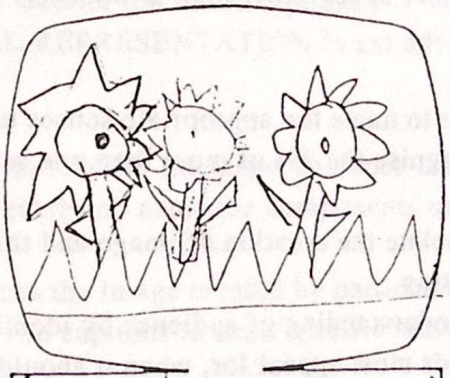
Cinderella thinks about the prince's crown



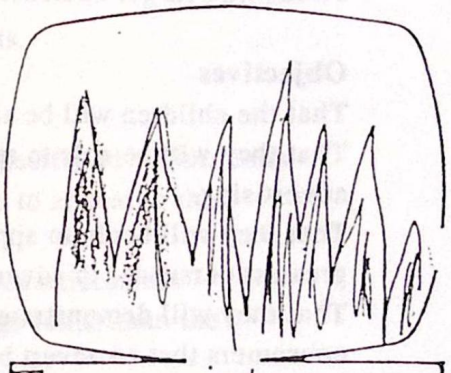
The two ugly sisters having an argument



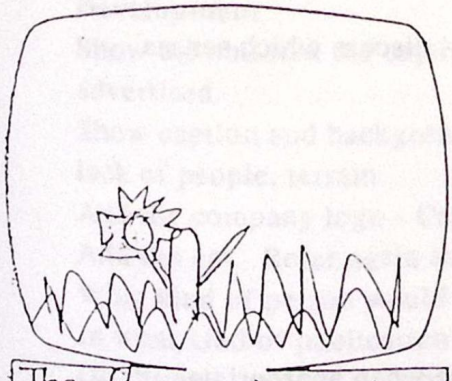
Cinderella thinks about the prince



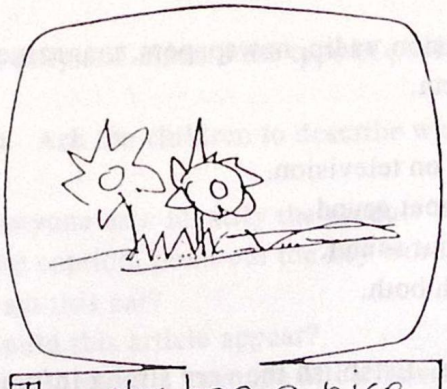
Cinderella wanted to pick flowers but couldn't because of her sore hands.



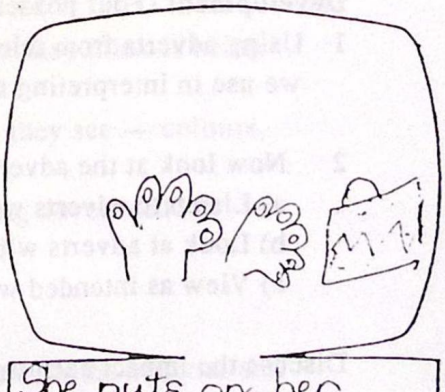
The grass is long now because she couldn't cut it.



The flower is all bent now.



Then she has a nice garden.



She puts on her cream.

2 Now look only at the adverts.

Discuss - How did we know that they were adverts?
Can we tell what was being sold?

3 Do we know who was supposed to buy these products?
Mums, Dads, Children, Whole Family etc.

4 Discard the material used and ask the children to recall any TV adverts they know.
How did you remember that one - music, was it funny etc?
Do you or your family have any of these things at home?
Do you think the advert helped you to decide what to buy?

(Do each phase as often as necessary until the concept is established it may be immediate or it may take a few weeks to develop).

II Context Environmental Education - Theme Work **My Body**

As part of the theme the children will be studying the five senses.

Aims
To create an awareness of how the senses are used in advertising, and that only certain senses can be used by the different media.
To identify which senses are being used in specific adverts.
To evaluate and comment on effective use of senses in adverts.
To identify target audience more specifically than at the early stages.

Objectives
That the children will be able to name the appropriate senses used in the different media.
That they will be able to recognise the use of more than one sense in most successful advertising.
That they will begin to appreciate the creation of image and that visual impact is the greatest persuader in advertising.
That they will demonstrate understanding of audience by identifying which group of consumers that an advert holds most appeal for, when it should be scheduled on television, in which magazines, newspapers etc it should be placed.

Development (Four phases)
1 Using adverts from television, radio, newspapers, magazines - discuss which senses we use in interpreting them.

2 Now look at the adverts on television.
a) Listen to adverts without sound.
b) Look at adverts without sound.
c) View as intended with both.

Discuss the impact each time. Establish the very strong influence when appropriate music is used with the image. Discuss the music and the target audience.

3 Look now at advertising in the other media forms. How do they compensate? Taste and smell are used by giving free samples of certain food.
What about the sense of touch - Could free-trial offers be considered in this area? If you have something in your home that you can touch would you be more likely to want to keep it?

4 It would be worthwile doing a novel - study of 'Charlie and the Chocolate Factory' at this point as Willie Wonka experimented with breaking conventions in advertising and used all five senses to great effect — eg Television Chocolate you could sample chocolate from the television etc.

(Discuss each phase as often as necessary to develop the concept.)

III Context Environmental Education - Theme Work **Trading**

As part of the theme the children will be studying the importing/exporting of cars. It would be appropriate to look at this fiercely competitive market in closer detail and examine the range of advertising strategies and the symbolism and image of particular cars conveyed through the mass media.

Magazine Adverts.

Aims:
To create an awareness of the use of colour, subject, background and text in magazine adverts.
To draw the attention to the relationship between these individual components.
To demonstrate that car magazine adverts are targeted through a variety of devices at particular AUDIENCES.
To read the 'hidden meaning' behind the stated captions.
To identify STEREOTYPICAL REPRESENTATION in car adverts.

Objectives
That the children will be able to identify the target audience for specific advertisements.
That they will be able to recognise and name the components used to appeal to that audience.
That they will be able to discuss the image created by particular advertisements.
That they will be able to re-write captions to state specific message rather than the actual words written.
That they can see where misrepresentation and stereotypes occur and argue against them.

Development
Show the children the caption only and discuss the type of product they think is being advertised.
Show caption and background. Ask the children to describe what they see — colours, lack of people, terrain.
Add the company logo - Can anyone now identify the product being advertised?
Add the car. Refer again to the caption, point out the key word.
What kind of person would want this car?
In what kind of publication would this article appear?
Go through various magazines and make a montage of car adverts with the original and re-written captions. •

Teaching Film in Secondary School

***Irene Bateman** is a teacher of English at Holyrood Secondary School, a 6 year comprehensive of 1850 pupils in Glasgow.*

In order to tackle film for the media option at Revised Higher level, it is necessary for pupils to have studied it from S1 - S4 in an integrated coherent fashion. Since at present there exists no schematised approach to this, many teachers of English are, like me, slowly feeling their way towards this goal. The process by which any teacher selects a text and identifies the concept to be grasped tends to somewhat serendipitous, depending largely on availability of text and suitability for the grouping, but, in the long run it is to be hoped that English departments will produce their own banks of units to be drawn on as seems appropriate.

The biggest difficulty in teaching film at any level is the one we encounter when teaching literature, and that is to convince the pupils that the text is a constructed thing; so finished is the the product, so strong a degree of identification is there with the constructed reality of an enjoyable text that pupils are unwilling to step outside of this. The best way of convincing them is to have them try for themselves by filming a scene using a video camera. They then see the point of deconstruction. An advert or a news interview lasting no longer than about a minute would be a realistic target, but this can be a daunting undertaking with a class of 33, and is best done when a co-op teacher is available and the class can be split.

My choice of text with S1 was 'Bugsy Malone', and my purpose was to look at genres; gangster (spoof) and the musical being the two most obvious ones, each having a fairly clear - cut storyline. Stereotyping, both cultural and of females, can also be looked at using this film, though I did so only in passing. I did feel, however, that it was important at this stage to give a close reading to one section of the film in order that pupils learn the basic 'nuts and bolts' from the start. I chose the pre-credit sequence, which is a nice example of film noir, and set them to counting shots so that they would be aware of a change in pace. Having issued the class with information sheets I then divided the tasks so that, for shot by shot analysis a member of each group could concentrate on one aspect of each shot viz. sound, mise-en-scene, camera work and montage. This sounds complicated, but in practice it worked very well, and is a necessary approach because film is so compressed a medium that no individual could catch all the nuances simultaneously.

My S2 class is using 'Frankenstein's Aunt' as a class novel and some of the pupils

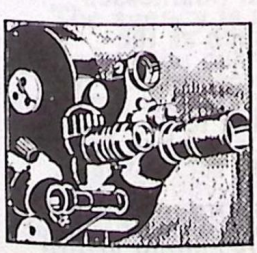
will be recording and presenting to the class 5 scary/funny minutes of the Gothic genre chosen by themselves. I anticipate such variants as 'The Adams Family', 'Count Duckula' and 'The Lost Boys'. I, myself, will show one of the early sequences from 'Rocky Horror'. I suspect that we will find that in modern films, the monsters are more sympathetic than the 'straights'. Incidentally I found that the best way of introducing the Gothic to my Higher class studying the novel 'Wuthering Heights' was to show them twenty minutes or so of Werner Herzog's beautiful 'Nosferatu', updating this with a rapid segue into 'Batman Returns', by way of Schreck. It's all there as in the book - animal imagery, the elements, cavernous interiors, the supernatural, property deals etc.

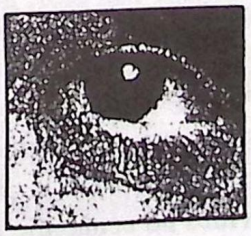
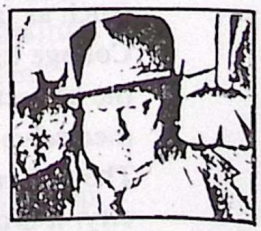
Another good film to use with S2 is 'The Wizard of Oz'. An obvious area to pick up on here is colour coding, from sepia to bright technicolour, bringing in the magical connotations of green and red. Bering in mind that the film was shot in a studio, it is interesting to pick out how special effects were achieved. The dream sequence is good for this, as also for camera technique, and Munchkin land is useful for illustrating camera angles. Ideology was another area I looked at with this film - a very basic level, but with a post higher module grouping I used the film to examine more closely the ideology of the American Dream, given the year ('39) when it was made. As a follow-up with S2, groups updated the story, using different characters on a different quest. (In adventure books, which boys enjoy, human values always win when pitted against super - human powers). The end product was film posters for their own quest story.

My S3 class looked at male and female representations, initially using a selection of TV adverts, and we broadened this to include films exemplifying the 'new man' - 'Kindergarten Cop' and 'Three Men and a Baby'. It was more difficult to find suitable film material for the assertive female (first 10 mins. of 'Silence of the Lambs') but there are plenty of examples in advertising. The aim here was to produce a discursive piece of writing for the Standard Grade folio.

Having worked on the novel 'Of Mice and Men' with S4, and being aware that some of the pupils would be studying 'Gatsby' in S5, I felt it would be useful to pursue the American Dream theme by using the film 'Trading Places'. At this point, an English teacher must focus her thoughts very firmly on what is likely to produce a good R3 folio piece, and with this in mind, I decided that the meatiest section of the film for closer study was the opening 15 minutes up to the point where we meet Eddie Murphy. There are masses of oppositions set up in these early morning Philadelphia scenes, which enables them to pick out the thematic content, together with lovely parallels in the composition of different shots. The enigma is firmly in place for the narrative code, and of course there is ample opportunity for comment on montage.

The obvious criticism of this particular S1 - S4 scheme of work, if it can be called, that is that there are areas which I simply haven't touched upon. Furthermore, each film will yield a great deal more than I have chosen to pick up on, but then time will never allow us to do everything. What is important is to have made a start, and I can improve it from there. •



Stevenson Students are Legal, Decent, Honest and Truthful

The Collective Agency is, we believe, the first student-run advertising and public relations agency in Scotland (in the UK, Europe, the World, the Universe, even). We set it up to give students on our HNC Advertising, Marketing and Public Relations course experience of the real-life working of the marketing mix.

One thing that SCOTVEC looks for during the validation of a Higher National course is access to work experience for the students. We felt that it might be difficult to ensure this every year for every student in the commercial agencies in Edinburgh, so we set up our own in-house agency in Stevenson College.

First of all, we set up an office within the College, equipped with graphics computers, typewriter, telephone and answering machine, not to mention relevant directories, necessary stationery and a small library. Then all the students were interviewed for jobs within the agency - account director, copywriters, print co-ordinators, and so on. Each student was given responsibility for his/her own area within the team which is supervised by a member of college staff who is herself a professional copywriter.

A legal adviser was consulted and when Terms of Business had been drawn up, the Agency could begin to seek clients. After coverage on radio and in the press, potential clients soon began to contact us - indeed, there were so many requests that the client list had to be slimmed down to manageable proportions.

The Agency has a policy of taking on as clients only those who cannot afford to pay professional agency fees for the required publicity. Clients include small businesses (such as taxi firm and a dog-walking agency), educational institutions (such as the College itself) and charities. In addition, professional advertising agencies pass on to the collective Agency work that, for one reason or another, they are unable to undertake themselves and agree to criticise constructively student work arising from these briefs. The Collective Agency is in close contact with the professional agencies throughout the city; it provides no economic threat to them since The Collective's clients cannot afford

professional fees. Rather, they welcome the existence of The Collective since it provides them with a source of potential employees who are already experienced in agency work and do not need the usual initial year's in-house training.

As The Collective Agency is non-professional, clients are charged no fees for the work undertaken; the students are more than adequately recompensed by the opportunities for real-like experience. However, it is expected that clients reciprocate the service in kind, instead of cash - usually in the form of drawing materials or stationery. The Agency takes a brief as far as the completed copy stage. It also, if necessary, obtains quotations for the client with suppliers of creative, media or print services. It is the client's responsibility to ensure direct payment with these suppliers.

There's an Italian college in Viterbo very struck by our innovative agency and last summer they sent students across to co-operate with the Scottish students in their work for the community. Next spring another group is coming over, this time for a longer period. The Italian students were so enthused by their experience that they spent their summer vacation setting up a similar, if temporary, agency in their home town, working on a brief for the local tennis club. Imitation, it is said, is the sincerest form of flattery.

Julie Watt, Head of Arts and Media, Stevenson College, Edinburgh.

Now in its second year of running, The Collective Agency is still proving to be a success. From my point of view as the advertising lecturer, it is an invaluable teaching tool We simulate the workings of a professional agency, handling real clients and solving real promotional problems. This reinforces the vocational structure of the HNC course, and enables me to demonstrate the full context of every single element that I need to teach. A good example of this is the creative brief. This is written by an account executive after taking a client brief for a new advertisement. There is a world of difference between a lecture on how to write a brief, and the student's challenge of writing one for real. If they get it wrong, they risk the advertisement targeting the wrong audience; promoting the wrong benefit; using the wrong media; wasting the client's budget. Although I intervene when a brief has been badly written or inadequately researched, the student will have to persist until it is right.

The immediate result is (besides a satisfied client) profound understanding of the discipline of the creative brief. The ultimate result is that the student might be able to impress a potential employer sufficiently with their depth of knowledge to be given a job. In fact, one of last year's students now works for Leagas Shaffron Davis Chick in London, and is the first junior account executive to be given the responsibility of writing briefs.

Another benefit is helping the students to determine precisely which career to pursue. Advertising is on of those professions which attracts students, and at an early stage, they may not know what type of opportunities exist which could suit their selves wanting to be PR consultants instead; likewise many would-be account execs. found other positions suited their skills much more.

The agency is not without its problems. But lessons learnt from last year have been applied to the current students, such as limiting the number of students, such as limiting the number of students involved to seven. This keeps it competitive. Every student chosen knows that they have to work extremely hard to retain their place.

Perhaps one of the most encouraging signs for The Collective Agency is that professionals in Edinburgh are eager to support the students, with advice, practical help

and visits. I'd like to think that they are not being completely altruistic - perhaps they are talent spotting for the future!

***Liz Holt**, Supervisor of The Collective Agency and lecturer in advertising, Stevenson College, Edinburgh.*

The Collective Agency was initiated in 1991 to give students a practical, 'hands-on' experience of the advertising industry within our course.

Students were accepted into the agency after rigorous individual interviews. We all applied for specific posts within the agency with a view to the kind of jobs we would be pursuing in the outside world. These posts included: two account executives, one traffic controller, two PR staff, three creatives, two production and a media buyer.

The team's first client presented a brief which allowed the agency three weeks to produce a satisfactory result. The initial workload landed upon the creative team. This involved a detailed trial and error process with much heated creative discussion. The creatives concede that, although the workload was intense, much was learned in the first two weeks. Happily, a range of ideas has been developed and at the moment the team feels confident about our client's reaction.

Working within a limited budget, the production staff have followed various avenues of possible sponsorship and cost cutting. Media have liaised with the client, deciding upon which areas of the press are best to utilise whilst the PR staff are presently promoting image and information through as many channels as possible.

Updating the client and overseeing the development of the brief are the two account execs., and internally they are aided by the traffic controller who is ensuring the smooth communication of all departments.

Clearly, we as students feel the knowledge being gained will be invaluable when venturing into the job market. The Collective Agency is a unique opportunity to produce good work and we all hope that each new year will benefit from the preceding year's experiences.

***Pauline Blows and Billy McElhany**, Members of the Collective Agency and students on the HNC Advertising, Marketing and Public Relations, Stevenson College Edinburgh.*

• STOP PRESS
The Collective Agency has just won the Save & Prosper Award (£1000) for Enterprise & Initiative.

The Scottish Film and Television School

***Jack Shea** is a Senior Lecturer at Napier University.*

The Scottish Film and Television School was not originally conceived as such three years ago when I sat down with Colin Macleod (then the Director of the Centre for Video and Computing at Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art) to discuss his idea about the possibility of running an M.Sc. course in film and television production as a consortium between Napier (then "College") University and Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art, in Dundee. The Scottish Office Education Department (then the SED) were, it seemed, interested in developing such a venture and were willing to back it with considerable capital support.

Colin Macleod had called me up and asked if we could develop it together. We had no trouble seeing the enormous potential of such a course (the first of its kind in Scotland; the first M.Sc. in Film and TV anywhere in the world) and immediately prepared submissions and estimates for what the venture would cost in terms of capital equipment, revenue, building and extra staff in order to provide a course which would prepare advanced-level students for employment in the industry. We submitted our proposals to the Scottish Education Department and found them almost instantly accepted, to our astonishment. There were a few small hiccups but basically everything went smoothly and quickly. That was the first and last time we would see anything happen with such speed.

The substantiated rumours that we were developing the M.Sc. was quickly followed up by less concrete rumour that we were planning to call our workplaces "The Scottish Film and Television" school. Rumours which were,in fact true. We wanted to scale the course at as a high a level as possible and felt it right that we give it a name which corresponded to our aspirations and to what we felt we might be able to achieve. Since we anticipated problems with funding (the course would be largely production-based and would therefore require similar levels of funding to any other professional project) we wanted to have a title that would give instant recognition and credibility to what we were proposing to do. Since we perceived attracting an international body of students and expected to be sending graduates around the world, as well, when they were seeking employment, we felt justified in giving our venture a "national" identity.

When news of our plans hit some sectors of the Scottish independent film and television industry it was greeted with amazing hostility. There were one or two small

articles in the papers (mainly the Glasgow Herald) which had a collection of complaints from individuals who felt we had somehow usurped a title and a concept which they had mothballed for some future date when a "real" Scottish Film and Television School would somehow, magically come into existence. There were cries that we hadn't properly consulted members of the industry before deciding on a course or name, or a concept or a structure, and yells that we weren't communicating with anyone in the industry and the industry had a right to know what we were doing, etc etc. We were on several occasions astounded to find ourselves present at meetings convened to discuss the future of training in Scotland where the news of our "School" was treated with polite derision and not-so-polite and quite vocal contempt. It was illuminating to see a number of protected interests putting up their guard for what they thought would be a major assault - on their funding sources, their concept of industrial competence, and their client/trainee base, some of which was probably justified, as we were planning to raise money, develop our own ideas about what was "competent" and attract as many of the best students as we could get our hands on. A lot of criticism focused directly on the name itself, one person even claiming that we could hardly call the course (really a system of courses) "The Scottish Film and Television school" since it didn't even exist (yet). Maybe it should have been "Project X", who knows? It was around this time, in

With the great Mr Welles guiding us from his studio in the sky we would have an even higher profile, could smoke cigars and do bigger deals across bigger tables. And the T-shirt potential - "The Big O Film School" - was worth a lot, to say nothing of access to divine (or diabolical!) intervention.

utter weariness at fighting what seemed to be a pointless rearguard action over what was, after all, only a name, that I proposed to Colin that we re-name ourselves "The Orson Welles Institute of film and Television Studies". Only half-joking. After all, with the great Mr Welles guiding us from his studio in the sky we would have an even higher profile, could smoke cigars and do bigger deals across bigger tables. And the T-shirt potential "The Big O Filmschool" was worth a lot - to say nothing of access to divine (or diabolical!) intervention.

Like all storms in teacups this one blew over and was forgotten in a very short time. We improved our communication with anyone who was interested in us, set up an industrial panel to advise us on the development of the course and generally went about our business of teaching (a B.A. in Film and Television at Napier and a postgraduate diploma in Electronic Imaging at Duncan of Jordanstone). We swore to ourselves never to mention the words "Scottish Film and TV School" ever again. We had thrown in the towel over the name. It wasn't worth it.

But the concept had struck a chord and whenever people referred to "the course" they

called it "The Scottish Film School". Even our most vocal former critics now used the term. By this time the industry had a better idea of what we were about and seemed satisfied that we weren't abandoning the spirit of practice to the ghost of the purely academic. The ones who were most excited by the prospect of a national school in Scotland were the young filmmakers in Scotland. Since the name had taken hold we had no other option but to live with it.

The Scottish Film and Television School is therefore a new venture for those 'young' filmmakers. It recognises their enthusiasm, and will respond by providing a course which prepares them for employment. At the end of the day, its success will be measured by its ability to adapt to the changing needs of the 'industry', and to turn out, year after year, exciting filmmakers who are employable.

The first thing that students will notice about the new school is its fully professional environment, whether in the newly built television facilities in Dundee or the rapidly expanding film department in Edinburgh. The resources will match the very best industrial standards, and the staff, whether professional, academic, technical or administrative, will have the necessary capabilities to ensure that students achieve the greatest benefit from their studies.

Twenty-four students will be enrolled on the course in any one calender year; twelve based at Napier University (for film studies) and a similar number at Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art (for television studies). As entry to the course is based on an applicant's previous working experience, candidates without a prior degree can be selected for the course. All applicants, however, must prove their skills in at least one of the seven key areas of film or television practice: Producing, Directing, Writing, Camerawork, Soundcraft, Editing or Designing. During the course each student chooses one of these categories as a major subject and another as a minor area of study. Thereafter a student's Major and Minor areas of specialisation provide the focus for project work; the expectation being, that upon graduation, the student will select to work in one of these areas of the 'industry'. The programme, therefore, provides potential practitioners with an advanced enough Course in Film and Television production methods to foster operational and critical awareness; achieved through individual research programmes and cooperative practical project work.

And what of the Scottish element? Firstly, finance has been secured to enable six Scottish students to study at the school during its first year. Secondly, the majority of the professional teachers will be Scots. But thirdly, and most importantly, this course will be taking place right across Scotland; a truly national dimension if there ever was one.

•For further information about the Scottish Film and Television School, readers are invited to contact either Jack Shea at Napier University, Edinburgh, or Paul del Bravo at Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art, Dundee.•

Baudrillard's Bestiary

Mike Gane, Routledge £10.99

Since the end of World War 2, the contribution made by French intellectuals to the human sciences has been a very significant one. This contribution, however, has not always been well received by those working within the Anglo-Saxon tradition. I remember some years ago reading Frank Kermode's introduction to the English translation of Pierre Guiraud's book on semiology. Somewhat grudgingly, he admitted that, like alchemy, semiology might make discoveries 'by accident' but we may 'yet not wish to acquire the whole kit'. There was, of course, the furore over structuralism at Cambridge and quite recently Ernest Gellner remarked on a BBC 2 programme that, 'Paris was the world capital of obscurity'. One could multiply references like this ad infinitum but there is no gainsaying the fact that Barthes, Baudrillard, Foucault, Derrida, Ricoeur et al, have had a profound influence worldwide.

Mike Gane's book is dedicated to an examination of the theories of Jean Baudrillard - one of the cult figures of Postmodernism - and anything which attempts to bridge this two cultures divide is to be welcomed. One of Baudrillard's central ideas is that whereas Marx criticised his predecessors for favouring exchange to the exclusion of production, in our late twentieth century society consumption has replaced production as the major social and economic determinant. The commodity form has totally penetrated our modern culture.

There is much more to Baudrillard than this, of course, and Gane's book covers his literary essays as well as his cultural theories and the analysis of 'transpolitical figures'. The book works best, I think, where the subject matter of a chapter is strictly limited. Chapter 11, for example, "From the Beaubourg to the Bonaventure Hotel' is an interesting comparison of Baudrillard's essay on the Pompidou Centre and Frederic Jameson's analysis of the Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles. Elsewhere, however, on some of the larger topics, one has the feeling that too much has been condensed into too small a space. A reader wishing to approach Baudrillard's thoughts by way of this book would, I think have some sympathy with Gellner's remark quoted above. A reader acquainted with Baudrillard's work, on the other hand would perhaps have preferred Gane to engage Baudrillard more critically and at greater length - as Kellner does in his study published in 1989, however much one may agree or disagree with his conclusions.

Baudrillard is above all an agent provocateur - his evidence is often anecdotal; he engages in hyperbole and in his desire to totalize one often has the feeling that he is describing something which has not yet arrived - and yet he does force us to question conventional wisdom.

Gane's book is a useful addition to the literature on this provocative French thinker, though its appeal may be limited to those already sympathetic to Baudrillard's ideas.

R D Murray Prestwich Academy

Memory & Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America.

William Rowe &Vivian Schelling
Verso. £10.95

Since Gramsci's Prison Notebooks, culture has been widely recognised as one of the sites of the struggle for political power. For many of us living in the West or in the Northern Hemisphere South America is a land of cocaine, juntas, folk music and Butch Cassidy. Since our media say little of what is happening in the sub continent, it is an indication of the power of folk culture as a locus of state resistance that we are aware at all of the politics of Peru, Chile and the Amazon. In this fascinating study of South and Central America, Rove & Schelling argue that folk culture, far from being swallowed up by the colonial culture, in fact is the basis of resistance, and this has continued till today.

The analysis is comprehensive, but not sweeping. Each country is examined separately inside sectors of the general argument.

The forms of popular folk culture which are discussed are wide ranging. Football, dance, song and in Chile the patchwork pictures (arpilleras) which the women of Chile sewed depicting the horrors of the Pinochet regime, all feature in the text.

This is not an easy text, because it assumes a great deal of knowledge about South American histories and heroes, which on the whole are unfamiliar to the British reader. This is not in any way a criticism of the text as writing a history of South America is outwith its remit . Certainly a reader would need to mug up on Latin America to grasp the nuances of the discussion.

However it is highly readable, and the argument is clear even with only a sketchy outline of the history of the area.

It is apposite that this book is being reviewed in this issue of the MEJ, as it addresses the very issue that this and subsequent journals is setting out to address in Scotland.

Margaret Hubbard
Craigroyston Community High School
Edinburgh

The Commodity Culture of Victorian England

Advertising and Spectcale, 1851-1914
Thomas Richards
Verso £11.95

This book argues a very convincing case about the ways in which capitalism produced and then sustained its own culture in the 19th century.

Beginning with a detailed analysis of the 1851 Great Exhibition, Richards argues that the spectacle of the exhibition introduced and was the foundation of the culture of the Commodity, which, in turn was the basis of the late 19th century and 20th century advertising. This text is rich in example and illustration and this adds to its readability.

From the Great Exhibition he develops the argument through close examination of the role of monarchy and of Victoria herself in the commodity culture as he defines it. This is then extended logically into the market place beyond Britain - to the position of the commodity and advertising in the colonisation of Africa. Late 19th century imperialism, he argues, is as much grounded in commodity production as in territorial expansion, and its heroes - particularly Stanley of Africa - are as much sales entrepreneurs as explorers.

There are two further chapters which are primarily examples of the correlation between the fetish of the commodity and capitalism - one on quack medicines and the other on the seaside bathing belles. Both address the body in consumer culture, and the latter raises issues which have very loud resonances a century on. Richards, Associate Professor of English and American Literature at Harvard, is well versed in 19th century English popular culture. This is an interesting book, and contains a number of surprises and gems about the Victorian age, while at the same time a weighty historical piece of work which lays solid foundations for analysis of the 20th Century consumer society we live in.

Alan Smithy

Anatomy of Film

Bernard F. Dick, St. Martin's Press, New York (Second Edition),
MacMillan £9.99

This paperback edition of Professor Dick's book is fairly radical review of the first edition of 1978. It takes account of the significant changes in film study over the intervening years. Like the earlier edition it is aimed at the college tutor and student of film, and is therefore somewhat heavy and erudite for general school use. Nevertheless, the book is accessible and engaging for anyone with a real interest in cinema.

Professor Dick is alive to the interests and needs of students and in the preface clearly states that what he provides is a context for film study - not a definitive set of ideals with attendant examples.

Students must engage texts with which they can identify and view examples which they can understand. Tutors must find appropriate examples and use his analyses as a framework only.

As he rightly states: "It is easier to deal with exceptions when one has standards by which to measure them then if one has no standards at all". In this book he provides a comprehensive analysis of film which underpins that thesis.

There can be few film reference books which attempt the deconstruction of cinematic art on such a wide front and remain interesting, informative and enjoyable. The book throughout, retains a conversational tone which engages the reader in a personal way in the manner of a gifted lecturer. The learned professor uncovers the secrets of cinema with infectious joy leaving no stone unturned on his path. For him familiarity breeds content.

As one might expect from analysis on such a broad front, the book does not develop themes in great depth. Rather it highlights the multudinous facets of film in its broadest sense and gives pointers to directions for further study.

Ranging from an opening chapter on the very definition of film itself entitled "Film, Cinema or Movie" to a "Social/ Economic Approach to Film criticism", it moves through Sound, Image, Genres, Subtext, Direction, Film and Literature, Total Film, and Theoretical and Practical Criticism.

It includes as an appendix a sample student paper on "Transformation and the Human Condition in Psycho" and another representing his recommend-ations for a "Basic Film Library" in which he provides a brief synopsis of a number of key reference books for the serious student of film.

Professor Dick, despite his prodigious knowledge of cinema, is in no way didactic in his approach. Rather he delivers his pearls of wisdom in an intimate avuncular manner, taking time out to discuss chunks of dialogue or film imagery to illustrate a point.

Liberally illustrated (in black and white) with movie stills - some of them icons of their age - the book is very satisfying visually.

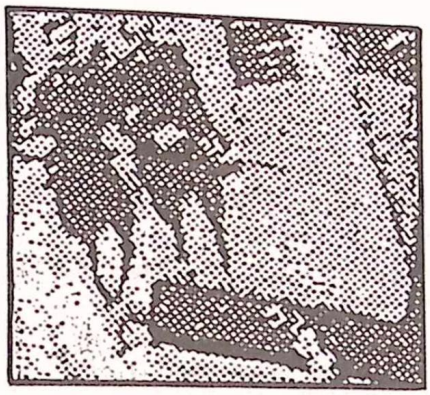
This is entirely appropriate to Professor Dick's assertion that film is an art form and a predominantly visual one.

His concluding thesis emphasises the need to treat a film as a totality and never allow the deconstructon process to fragment or distort its meaning.

The integrity of a work of art is in its wholeness.

"Anatomy of Film" in its second edition is an up to date reference book of some significance. It would be a very worthwhile addition to a College of Education or University library, with substantial claims to being a standard text.

N.W.K. McDonald
Denny High School



Teaching the Visual Media

Peter Greenaway,
Jacaranda $29.95

No, not the film director, but a former Australian Art teacher, now Media Studies lecturer in a College of Education down under.

As the title suggest, this book is very much in the business of teaching the Media - the visual Media in particular - and much to do with finding bridges between theory and practice in the classroom. For this reason alone it is a valuable reference for Scottish teachers looking across the curriculum for a perspective on Media Education.

Here is an experienced Art teacher recognising the significant part the visual arts have to play in Media Education, finding ways to attract art teachers towards Media Education and Media educators towards art. The predominance of Art & Design within the book in no way detracts from its value as a Media reference; rather it demonstrates the true cross curricular nature of the subject.

The book as one might expect,is liberally illustrated with imagery and diagrams ranging from Fine Art reproductions to theoretical models of media concepts - all in black and white.

Set out in easily manageable chunks the book systematically examines all aspects of visual media from the current theories of perception to the visual excitement of animation and film. He regrets the demise of the latter in schools. In giving way to video much is being lost in the direct manipulation of film as material, eg single frame selection for smooth animation.

Each chapter concludes with additional notes relating to the text and a useful list of Media resources drawn from a worldwide perspective. (Though predominantly Australian, there is nothing 'parochial' about the book).

In the process of examining concepts and theories Mr Greenaway is not averse to tacking controversial issues head on. For example, in the context of discussing ideology, he gives the U.S.A. a particularly rough ride. Based on his own experiences there, he informs us that "Americans see very few television programmes produced outside their own ideological perception of the world". Coupled with a woeful geographical knowledge, this results in their inability to acknowledge that media conveys cultural meaning - is value laden - and carries the dominant ideology of American Society.

Basically his position is that Media Education in the States is little more than an interest in technology; finding novel ways of capturing the public's fickle attention.

Is the same tongue in cheek belligerence at work when he talks about the Paul Hogan phenomenon? In Australia, Hogan's portrayed character is one to be admired - the self- made frontiersman, ingenuous, meeting the world head-on. In Britain the Fosters ads used Hogan as a comic character, awkward and naive in the company of sophisticated Brits.

This he uses to illustrate audience positioning and the cultural mechanisms deployed by advertisers.

Tribute is paid to those same advertisers for their creativity,not only in the high quality production and direction of which "30 seconds costs the same as five and a half hours of Neighbours", but also for the ways in which they circumvent current legislation.

These 'cultural' jibes aside, Greenaway is anxious to display the naturally outward-looking attitude of the Antipodean. The text is peppered with learned gems from European thinkers on Media including Barthes and Masterman and his debt to them is freely acknowledged.

One of the main attractions of the book to teachers is the "Classroom Application" section which accompanies each chapter. Here the author describes the kinds of activity which, in his experience, can weld theory and practice. Though clearly more manageable in the art room, most of those described are capable of normal classroom application or, at the least, could be the fruits of departmental collaboration.

An appendix offers a number of copyright-free blackline masters for classroom use.

I think this book would make a more than useful addition to any Media Education library and would provide food for thought to many would-be Media teachers perhaps reticent about attempting practical activities in the classroom. Highly recommended for Art teachers.

Media Education is alive and well in Australia and in good hands.

N.W.K. McDonald
Denny High School

Media Education in the Primary School;

Carol E Craggs, Routledge £9.99; ISBN 0 415 06371 X ISBN 0 415 06371 X

The author is a primary school teacher with twenty years experience in the primary classroom. The Combination of this experience and sound understanding of the educational arguments for media education have resulted in much more that the 'clear, practical guide' described in the publisher's blurb.

Ms Craggs has united the theoretical issues which underpin media teaching at all levels, with suggestions for children's learning in media and descriptions of how these can be managed within a busy primary classroom.

The introductory chapters raise issues of pedagogy, definition of literacy and content within media curriculum. The extensive bibliography and references will hopefully encourage teachers to extend from an initial interest to a deeper understanding of these issues.

The practical approaches described in the book are based on a framework of key issues through which the process of investigation can be carried out by pupils. The four key issues which are suggested by the author being:

selection and construction
a sense of audience
representations of reality
narrative techniques

These four keys areas are similar to those suggested by the BFI Primary Media Education Curriculum Statement and by the SFC/AMES Media groups may vary but it seems to me that the ideology is the same. Given that the subject matter is 'ephemeral and dependent on current interest..' it is the key aspects, issues or concepts which are important. This of course is true at all levels of media education. The author notes this by linking this approach with the priciples proposed by J S Bruner's theory of learning. *"The fundamental principles give stucture to the curriculum content and that concepts should be developed and redeveloped in a spiralling sequence towards greater levels of abstraction".*

This conceptual framework for learning is one which primary teachers have operated in for some time particularly in Scotland through the Topic Study approach based on Carl Popper's description of process-orientated problem-solving.

The famililarity of the pedagogical siting within the practical approach suggestions will enable Scottish primary practitioners to make full use of this book as an introduction to media education despite the allusions to the National Curriculum in England and Wales.

There are five chapters on practical approaches to visual literacy, learning about news, advertising, representations of reality and media institutions. Each chapter begins with an overview of the main points to teaching the particular area within the classroom. The practical approaches contain anecdotal descriptions of activities carried out by worksheets which will give support or ideas to teachers if they decide to investigate these areas with their own pupils. Throughout the suggestions the author relates what children have said while carrying out their investigations and in some cases provides transcriptions of children's talk about the media. These can be analysed for insights to the meanings children are making of media through investigations.

For teachers in England and Wales the author has attached an appendix signposting where the suggested activities relate to the National Curriculum. I am sure this will be extremely useful as a planning or record keeping guide.

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Images of Disability on Television

Guy Cumberbatch & Ralph Negrine, Routledge, £35.00
ISBN 0 415 06345 0

This book is the report of a research project on the portrayal of people with disabilities on British television. The project looked at a sample on television programmes across all channels in 1988 and early 1989, and was carried out on behalf of the Broadcasting Research Unit, who have been publishing research reports since 1986.

If your thoughts on disability on television turn largely to **Ironside**, in some ways you are not far from the truth, as disability amongst main characters in fiction programmes is relatively rare, compared with the population as a whole. However, the key issue looked at early in the book is the question of how one defines disability. There are so many differing views and interpretations, that the authors select the method used by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS). Even this is contentious, as the authors show (pp1 and 2):

"...many people with disabilities believe that it is not appropriate for them to be defined as such by able-bodied people, because then part of the experience of 'disability' that such people experience is a consequence of being so defined". There is also the debate as to whether a medical or a social definition is more appropriate. The report therefore accepts this conflict and cannot resolve it.

Part 1 of the report is a detailed analysis of a large sample of programmes from the output in the Midlands of England. This shows that disability was shown far more in factual programmes than in fictional ones. Much of this was represented by news coverage, especially in terms of medical treatment or special achievements of people with disabilities. However, as Conclusion 1 states, not one of the 44 game shows observed contained a single person with a disability.

Fiction, on the other hand (Conclusion 5) showed a mere 0.5 per cent of their characters as disabled, a stark contrast with the OPCS survey which shows that 14 per cent of the adult population has disabilities of one kind or another. Another interesting sidelight from the same report conclusion is that the television population in the sample programme is 65% male, 95% white and over 50% in the age range 25 to 40. Demographic researchers had better amend their population projections for the 21st century!

The authors point out that it is very difficult to represent certain types of disability, eg epilepsy, without drawing particular attention to the disability, whereas characters in wheelchairs, with a limp, or even a speech impediment, can simply be a member of the cast without any special need to bring this out in the storyline. A disturbing finding is that disabled characters in feature films are frequently shown as criminal or only barely human, or someone who is powerless and pathetic, often perhaps to create a mood of deprivation, or mystery or menace, this giving an appearance that disabled people are anything but ordinary. A further conclusion (14) shows that they are three times as likely as able-bodied compatriots to be dead by the end of the programme!

The second part of the book includes reports of discussions with groups of disabled people, those who care for the disabled, and those from families where someone has a disability, as well as with able-bodied people. Most people seem to accept that disabilities are under-represented on television, and support moves to include people with disabilities in all types of programmes. On the other side, comments from scriptwriters and producers, including specific reference to a character written in to **Crossroads** shortly before the time of the survey, look at the reservations of many scriptwriters and producers, who are concerned about the effect that this might have on the ratings, and even the practicalities of finding disabled actors, access to studios, etc.

The final conclusions of the report are basically a plea for the management of the production companies to accept the challenge, and provide opportunities to include the disabled both in factual and fictional programmes to a much greater extent than in the past. However, this must be done in a way that shows the disabled as equal to able-bodied and not as sub-human or in a sentimental way.

The report as a whole covers an area about which virtually nothing has been written in the past, and is very much a pioneering work. It deserves, to be read, as the publishers' blurb on the dust jacket says, by undergraduate and postgraduate students, researchers and lecturers, but I would feel far more by the industry itself.

Sadly, this seems likely that the odd copy will find its way on to the shelves of more specialised libraries, where the curious may flick though the pages.

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This will tie in with our Annual conference on May 22 entitled Media Scot.

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